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ST. LOUIS

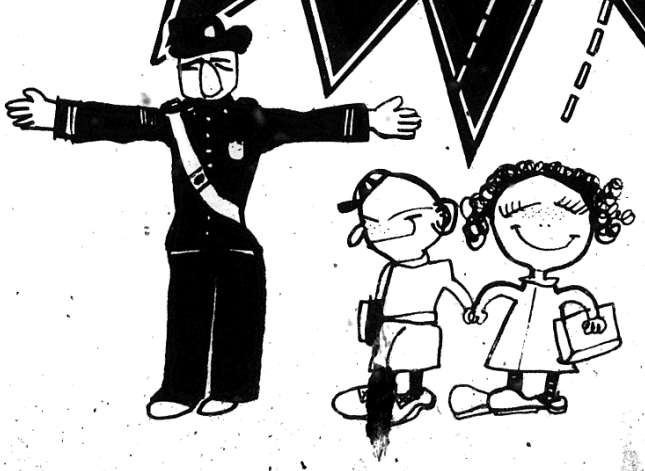
OUTLAW

25¢

Vol. 1 No. 6

Sept. 23 – Oct. 13, 1970

Zap to SKOOL



WATCH FOR CHILDREN

OUTLAW 2

lead paints kill children

One child has died, and 1,375 children have required treatment thus far from lead poisoning. This results from small children eating paint or plaster which contains lead, a poisonous substance. Since this kind of paint is most frequently found in slum housing, it is constantly peeling and flaking, and it is easy for a child to put some in his mouth.

The prevention of lead poisoning requires that the

lead paint and plaster be removed from the child's environment. Since 1940 it has been recognized that lead based paints should not be used inside homes. However, slumlords in almost all the major cities in the United States have continued to use this kind of paint because it is cheaper than non-lead paint.

Its use is very extensive, too. A study by the Yeatman Health Center found that in 200 homes in its general area 95 per cent contained lead-based paint.

It was only this April that the St. Louis Board of Aldermen, after protests for years, passed a Lead Poisoning Ordinance. However, no money was allocated at the time for its enforcement.

Recently the Mayor allocated $175,000 for enforcement. But all that means is that several health inspectors and several building inspectors will be paid to gather proof of lead-based paint in a home. Then, that slumlord will be taken to court. Which is all bullshit. First, the Mayor is or was heavily involved himself in real estate, and there is very little he will do to prosecute friends of his. Second, the judge responsible for hearing these cases has repeatedly thrown out litigation involving housing infractions against slumlords. He will probably do the same thing in these cases.

Until now, the protests have taken two directions: to pressure Cervantes to enforce the Lead Poisoning Ordinance, and to pressure the slumlords to repair their buildings. The first has had limited success, and probably will continue to; the second route began with the picketing of the slumlords' offices downtown on Chestnut Street, and then switched to the picketing of their homes on Sunday morning.

It is unclear as of now where the second route will go, although probably the tactics will necessarily become more militant. What is clear is that the problem of lead poisoning is only a symptom of the way profit is elevated to an ideal higher than people, and that a system that will serve the needs of the people must be created.

The following companies have been named as owners of property from which children have received lead poisoning and have been targets of demonstrations concerning that fact.

Eisenberg Realty Co.
705 Chestnut
241-7372

Dubman Realty Investment
6548 Clayton Rd.
781-7866

Felberbaum Real Estate Co.
722 Chestnut
231-1334

Brune Realty Co.
808 Chestnut
241-8500

Lieberman Investment Co.
2400 N. Grand
371-5035

Michelson Realty Co.
709 Chestnut
241-2177

Silverblatt Realty Co.
705 Chestnut
231-9666

Kohner Realty Co.
814 Chestnut
621-1366 or 241-5955

Geo. A. Dorenkemper Realty Co.
820 Chestnut
231-4764

People's News

Buddy System in Saigon

Saigon (LNS) — The U.S. Army command has warned the U.S. embassy staff here against travelling alone at any time and urged its employees to use the "buddy system" when walking the streets of Saigon.

"We believe there is a rise in anti-American feeling in Saigon," explained an Army spokesman.

Gay Liberation

Realizing the necessity of a forum for all gay people in St. Louis, such a group is presently being organized by some Washington University students. Its basic purpose will be to bring gay people (male and female) together, to discuss our mutual problems and difficulties. We must come to the realization that homosexuality is *not* abnormal and that gay people are repressed by the straight world as much as other minority groups are by the establishment. This is only a beginning. We are not promising anything. The group will be only what you want it to be. Come out of the closet and liberate yourself!

Call 862-2057 for information.

Black Militants in Vietnam

Washington (LNS) — California Congressman Augustus F. Hawkins, one of the people who raised a stink in Washington by issuing a recent minority report detailing the existence of brutal Tiger Cages in which South Vietnamese political prisoners are held at Con Son, South Vietnam's National Prison, has also issued an interesting report on the black soldiers in Vietnam:

"The militant young black soldiers in Vietnam are one of the war's touchiest aspects. I was always suspiciously regarded by top brass whenever I talked to black soldiers apart from their officers. The black soldier is anti-establishment and anti-war. I suppose in this respect our black soldiers and South Vietnamese people are soul brothers..."

ROTC Enrollments

Washington, D.C. (LNS) — Ten years ago, nearly 500,000 students were enrolled in college ROTC programs. Last year, 1969-70, barely half that number turned out. And over 73 ROTC buildings were targets of attack by fire or explosives. Pentagon records list more than 400 anti-ROTC incidents in the last college year, actions involving tens of thousands of American college students.

U.S. "Mental Breakdown"

Bangkok, Thailand (LNS) — The U.S. is on the verge of a national "mental breakdown" according to the Foreign Minister of Thailand, Thanat Khoman. Khoman was speaking before a luncheon conference of a visiting delegation of the American Chamber of Commerce in Bangkok on July 15.

The Foreign Minister of Thailand could benefit from a little more "mental health" in the U.S., since 40,000 American troops are in Thailand helping keep down a growing liberation movement which is trying to overthrow the present military dictatorship there. Meanwhile, the military government of Thailand is sending Thai troops and equipment to Cambodia to do the fighting in place of recently withdrawn American troops.

Khoman said that current social upheavals in the U.S. make it "difficult for those working closely and locally with the U.S. to expect a well-reasoned and balanced reception from their disturbed partner."

"Revolutionary Action Party"

An underground group identified as the "Revolutionary Action Party" is at war with all white nationalist governments. On Aug. 29 they successfully bombed the Rhodesian Information Office and the Portugese Embassy in Washington, D.C.

"National Emergency" Power

Washington (LNS) — It seems that the President is not about to lose his power to declare a national emergency, during which anyone can be imprisoned indefinitely without cause.

Although the Senate unanimously passed the bill to repeal the 1950 Internal Security Act, which empowered the President to set up concentration camps in the event of such an "emergency", Richard Ichord, chairman of the House Internal Securities Committee, seems determined to kill that bill by keeping it off the floor of the House.

Desertion Rates

Washington, D.C. (LNS) — The Army's own records show that over 80,000 GIs are missing, according to a reliable Pentagon contact. To combat this problem, the Army has recently established a 300-man team whose sole job is to track down the 80,000 names to see if they belong to people.

GIs have been submitting a large number of fake change-of-duty forms to jam the bureaucratic records, permitting themselves and others to desert more safely. The Marine Corps desertion rate is up 50 per cent over last year, and late reports from Vietnam indicate that 10 GIs split from U.S. ranks each day. Persistent rumors say that many, especially deserters who are black, are now fighting with the National Liberation Front of South Vietnam.

"Gal Friday"=Dirty Work

New York (LNS) — Remember the days when every one-man office was run by a Gal Friday, when every silver-templed executive couldn't get along without his old faithful?

Gals (Monday through) Friday are becoming "almost impossible to find" these days, laments the president of Personnel Opportunities, Inc., according to the Wall Street Journal.

One company tried renaming its "steno pool" the "office services pool" but nobody was fooled. And it doesn't take long for women to realize that the title "administrative assistant" means typing and coffee runs.

A Barnard College placement official reports that "seniors and alumnae are more and more unwilling to take secretarial jobs." Why? According to one college graduate, "It's repugnant to my nature and my career path to be a Gal Friday because the title conotes doing the man's dirty work."

Visas Denied

Tom Hayden, Rennie Davis and John Froines, defendants in the Chicago conspiracy trial, were refused permission Sept. 9 by two federal judges to travel to Algiers in order to discuss possible release of American prisoners of war.

Going the other way, Shirley DuBois, widow of W.E.B. DuBois, was denied a visa to visit the U.S.A. She had been invited to give a number of lectures.

Underground Sentences

Walworth County (Wisconsin) Judge Erwin Zastrow said, "What has to give is the first amendment privilege in the interest of justice."

And it did too — Mark Knops, editor of the Madison, Wisconsin, underground Kaleidoscope got six months in jail for contempt. He had pleaded the Fifth Amendment and the First Amendment in refusing to answer questions before a grand jury investigating the bombing of the Army Math Research Center on the U. of Wisc. campus. He was then granted immunity from prosecution but continued to refuse to answer questions. Earlier the Kaleidoscope had published an article in which the New Year's Gang took credit for the bombing.

We always thought the First Amendment (of the Bill of Rights) was a right not a privilege — and back to Law school for you Judge Zastrow!

Elsewhere in the underground press Arthur Kunkin of the L.A. Free Press and Jerry Applebaum, a reporter, each got three years probation for receiving stolen property. The property was a roster of state narcotics agents that the paper had published. Included were names, addresses and telephone numbers.

Right On! to papers that serve the people.

Withdrawal Petition

Berkeley, Calif. (LNS) — More than 1000 National Guardsmen and Reservists from all over the country have signed a petition calling for immediate and total withdrawal of troops and advisors from Vietnam and other Third-World bases.

"We don't want Guatemala, Thailand, or Bolivia to become the Vietnams of the 1970's" the petition said. "One Vietnam is enough."

The petition is the first large public protest by officers and men from the Reserves and Guard. Signers come from all seven branches of the armed forces and include 49 Vietnam vets.

"We demand total withdrawal of all our fellow American soldiers from Vietnam now," the statement says. "Not just combat troops, not just ground forces, but all troops."

Who Should Run The Spanish Pavilion?

Serving the People?

By Alphonse and Gaston

Editor's note: large portions of the following article are excerpted from the essay "Financial and Historical Background of the Spanish International Pavilion" by Lew Friedland and Tom Salomone of Pavilion for Children and Youth, Inc.

In recent weeks, the news has been full of the controversy surrounding the fate of the Spanish International Pavilion. Mayor Cervantes insists that the Pavilion should continue as the center of St Louis's cultural and tourist attractions; opposing politicians (especially the Board of Aldermen) have demanded that the Pavilion pay for itself; creditors have claimed control of the building due to the Pavilion Foundation's current bankruptcy; and a group of dissidents led by Henry Etzkowitz, Washington University sociology professor, have demanded that the Pavilion be donated to the community to be used as a day care center.

Why it was Built

The CCRC indicated in 1966 what this means in dollars and cents:

"Approximately $90 million will be spent in the immediate area of the stadium by Civic Center Redevelopment Corporation and other projects and buildings which the stadium has sparked. Twenty million dollars in equity capital was raised from business, labor unions, and private individuals. A $33.5 million loan by the Equitable Life Assurance Society of the United States guaranteed that the project would be carried out."

When business smells increasing profits, it can be extremely cooperative with other interests. And these businessmen were aware of the potential for further expansion of their downtown development plans when they and Mayor Cervantes conceived of transplanting the Spanish Pavilion in St. Louis.

The CCRC board was expanded considerably and most of the new members also served as directors of the Pavilion Foundation. These men included David Calhoun, Chairman of the St. Louis Union Trust Co.; Richard Goodson, Chairman of Southwestern Bell; Theodore Gamble, President of Pet Inc.; Stanley Goodman, President of Famous Barr; Morton May, Chairman of the May Company; John Fox, Chairman of Mercantile Trust Company; Charles Allen Thomas, former Chairman of Monsanto Chemical Company; and Harold Koplar, Mayor Cervantes' business partner and owner of the Chase Park Plaza Hotel.

Although the problem has only been raised tangentially, the real issue at stake in the Spanish Pavilion (SP) controversy is what the priorities have been and will be in planning the development of St. Louis. The building of the SP underscores the foremost of these priorities: the development of the downtown area to attract tourists and new residents to St. Louis for the benefit of business and banking interests.

To understand these priorities in the context of the SP it is necessary to understand the function of the Civic Center Redevelopment Corporation (CCRC), perhaps the most important of the downtown development groups and the parent of the Pavilion Foundation.

In 1958, city government and business interests began to project the rebuilding of the southern and western parts of the downtown area (much of which is commonly known as Mill Creek Valley). Since this area was in a state of decay, it provided a perfect opportunity to use the newly-expanded federal urban renewal program to develop the business capacity of the downtown area. In addition, the influx of federal funds promised to encourage the city's major banking interests – the First National Bank in St. Louis, St. Louis Union Trust, and the Mercantile Trust Company– to make local capital available for investment.

The banks and the business community responded as hoped. By 1959, Aloys Kaufman, President of the St. Louis Chamber of Commerce, and James Hickok, Chairman of the Board of the First National Bank, had organized a redevelopment committee. Later that year, they were joined by Preston Estep, Chairman of the Board of the Bank of St. Louis, and Sidney Maestre, then Board Chairman of Mercantile Trust Company, to incorporate CCRC.

By 1966, the area had been cleared and the Arch and Busch Stadium had appeared as monuments to the banking and business communities: the bankers were satisfied with the returns on their capital investment and the businessmen were overjoyed at the new business opportunities opened up by the increased tourist-convention trade and the revitalization of downtown St. Louis as a shopping center.

The remainder (and bulk) of the project was financed by local banking interests which were more than willing to contribute to the redevelopment of St. Louis's business area, especially since the rewards of interest returns promised to be highly remunerative. In addition, annual land rental and operating expenses of $150,000 was to be paid by the Pavilion Foundation to CCRC.

The more intricate and subtle manipulation of city planning and devlopment, however, was complemented by straight-forward swindle. As if it wasn't sufficient to have constructed an elaborate $6,000,000 structure when the needs of the majority of St. Louisans continue to go unmet, the directors of the Pavilion Foundation and the Mayor bilked the public even further. By the beginning of 1970, the [illegible] had given the Pavilion Foundation over $100,000 through its City Convention and Tourism Board (on which the Mayor sits). Moreover, businesses located in the Pavilion all were owned by Pavilion Foundation board members or their relatives. Three of these were the property of the Koplars. When the Pavilion was finally forced to close due to its insolvency, these civic-minded businessmen each owed $4,000 to $50,000 in back rent.

A People's Center?

It is safe to say that the SP has been anything but a financial success. Attendance for the first year was a mere one-sixth of the anticipated figure. Still, the Pavilion stands as a significant part of the downtown area as a tourist and business center. The fact that the Pavilion lost money is significant only because the individuals who controlled CCRC, and through it the Pavilion Foundation, were responsible for the repayment of the loans to the banks – primarily Carondolet Savings and Loan – which financed the Pavilion.

In short, the corporate leadership that promoted the SP in order to profit from its existence faced the possibility of losing money on the venture and having the pavilion fold completely.

The corporate executives who engineered the plans for redeveloping downtown St. Louis were not about to admit defeat. By the end of April, plans for the construction of a Ramada Inn, using the Pavilion facilities, were seriously advanced. And despite the series of legal hassles between the PF–CCRC and Carondolet Savings and Loan, it appears certain that some profitable plan to utilize the SP will be realized.

The demands of the "Pavilion for Children and Youth" group that the Pavilion become a community center, run for and by the people of St. Louis, have been ignored by all parties. For at the heart of redevelopment plans for the downtown and Mill Creek Valley areas has been an effort to exclude the majority of St. Louisans from the fruits of this development. Thousands of blacks and poor whites were moved out of Mill Creek Valley and shoved into dungeons such as the Pruitt-Igoe housing project in order to create a downtown area free of urban blight. Downtown was to provide the veneer to convince tourists, potential residents, and industry that St. Louis was one major metropolitan area not suffering from poverty and decay. Dollars from tourists, dollars from industry–all at the expense of the city's poor who were forced further and further into poverty while bearing the brunt of creating a new image for St. Louis.

The SP was never intended to serve as a "cultural center" for metropolitan St. Louis or anything of the kind. CCRC itself summarizes what was intended and how it came to be:

"Those who knew about this area and had intimate acquaintance with it were the police, fire marshals, and building and health inspectors. The only citizens who came into this area were [illegible] those who worked or had business there, or a few unfortunate human derelicts who had no place else to go. No visitors ever came, ... and nobody ever invited them.

"Just a few years [illegible] area had been completely

10→

CORE Leaders Busted, Boycott Continues

St. Louis CORE has moved against discriminatory employment practices in the brewing industry by launching a boycott of Anheuser-Busch products. The boycott started on August 3 and immediately gained widespread support, particularly from taverns located in black areas of the city. It is estimated that the boycott has been 75 per cent successful in black areas of St. Louis, and it has also received national support from groups in Cairo and other cities.

Anheuser-Busch has consistently refused to release exact figures on the number of blacks it employs. CORE claims that out of 4500 employees, only 100 are black and most of those are in menial, low-paying positions.

The brewery has purchased whole supplements in the city's three major black newspapers to answer CORE's charges. These supplements pictured blacks who were employed by Busch and implied that there was no job discrimination in their plants. During the first ten days of September, over 30 black employees of Anheuser-Busch were laid off. Most of these had four or five months experience in the plant – the union requires six months employment for membership – and some of these were the very people Busch claimed to employ.

"CORE feels that the inequities in management and union policies have to be changed to get more blacks into the industry and into more meaningful job slots." CORE went on to state that "CORE has made eight demands on Anheuser-Busch, the primary one being the employment of 1000 blacks (850 of these permanent) at the St. Louis plant by October, 1971." The demands state that this could be done by filling vacancies with blacks and using CORE to help recruit black workers.

The most dramatic and honest testimony to the boycott's effectiveness was the arrest on September 15 of four CORE members including the chairman, Henry Thomas, on federal charges of conspiracy to commit extortion.

The four blacks have been accused by the federal government of attempting to extort Mr. T's (which rents stereos and TV's), a store notorious for ripping off the black community. One example, as cited by CORE, is their renting of $600 color TV sets which when you buy over 18 months ends up costing $1500.

The law under which the four were arrested is a 1957 statute dealing with conspiracy to interfere with interstate commerce. (Mr. T's operates in five states with headquarters in Kansas City).

Roy Innis, national director of CORE, and other CORE officials went to the Mr. T's store at 6189 Delmar on September 16 to reiterate the demands made by the local CORE chapter. The original complaint against Mr. T's came about when James Whittington, former assistant store manager for Mr. T's and one of the four arrested, charged the firm with bias in hiring and promotions. St. Louis CORE met with the store manager about the complaint and also about allegations of consumer fraud. On September 11, CORE filed a complaint with the Federal Trade Commission

Innis stated that, "I would hope the FBI would come and arrest me too... I have been doing exactly the same thing. . . interfering in interstate commerce with racist employers from exploiting black people."

In explaining the charges, Innis said that "if a man is guilty of wrongdoing he is intimidated when you threaten to expose him."

A CORE spokesman felt that the arrests were made because "the FBI is working for Busch" and wished to discredit CORE. Innis spoke at a press conference in St. Louis on September 16. He said, "The small business people here know that if we get Mr. Busch, they are next, because they are doing the same injustice to the black community as Mr. Busch is doing."

Several observers in St. Louis feel that this move to stop black groups from working for fair employment may be a part of Nixon's strategy. In trying to gain friends among middle Americans, he is going after groups that threaten the status quo. The attack was made here because of CORE's effective boycott of Busch and because of the racist nature of the Federal District Court in St. Louis.

CORE has emphasized that the arrests will not change their strategy toward either Mr. T's or Anheuser-Busch.

Who Will Make the Revolution?

By Tom Joad

The struggle against ROTC last spring at Washington University, and many other colleges across the country, brought the movement into a different stage of development than had existed before. Two qualities were unique about the spring actions: (1) the struggle against ROTC was clearly defined as being anti-imperialist, and (2) the tactics employed were more militant than ever before, particularly the extensive violence against property.

It was recognized that Vietnam, and consequently Cambodia, were no "aberrations of a President's policy, but part of a larger policy and program, namely,

ROTC building in Louisiana

imperialism. This meant that the war in Vietnam was not simply to be protested against in Washington D.C., but all aspects of imperialism – economic, military, and political – were equally vulnerable, regardless of their location, whether it be McDonnell-Douglas and ROTC in St. Louis, or Boeing Aircraft in Seattle.

Hence, it was not necessary for students to "leave" their campuses to protest against the war in Vietnam. Rather they could fight aspects of imperialism which existed at their campuses, from ROTC to particular kinds of research. The roots of imperialism began to be located, and action was being directed against them.

The increase in the use of violence happened because legitimate channels proved unresponsive to previously used forms of protest; and because the challenge to imperialism was not simply a "protest" but a fight, a fight concerning life and death. Also, if victory for third world struggles was considered as the objective (for example, victory for the National Liberation Front in Vietnam), then correspondingly, the defeat of Amerikan imperialism became the sole objective. Any stalling tactics perpetuated the daily misery and oppression of third world peoples.

On the national level, before last spring, this identification with third world struggles took its most dramatic turn in the creation of the Weatherman faction of SDS. They believed not only that victory for third world liberation movements was imperative, but that the possibility of creating a revolution in this country was impossible, so that the destruction of imperialism was their sole objective. That is, since there was no possibility for having a revolution in this country, all that was important was the destruction of the American Empire and victory for the third world liberation movements. American society was too decadent, and most of the people too comfortable, to want to make a revolution.

In terms of the campuses, last spring's action did bring some massive destruction to Amerikan imperialism, and did raise the political consciousness of a large number of people.

But ultimately such a strategy is doomed to failure.

An anti-imperialist struggle in this country cannot succeed unless that particular movement links up the struggle of third world peoples with those who are oppressed in this country. This means that any movement that concentrates solely on the destruction of Amerikan imperialism will destroy any possibilities that exist for the creation of a better, different Amerika – a Socialist America. Amerika cannot simply be "destroyed;" it must be re-shaped to not only meet the needs of the people in the third world but also in this country, rather than continuing its present course of exploitation. This cannot be done with the simple objective of destruction.

The possibility of success for a movement based solely on the desire for destruction is also limited in that people relate best to their own oppression, their own problems, not somebody else's in a distant country. This means recognizing not only the racism perpetrated against blacks, but also the oppression of white workers and women. The Hell that workers undergo in their factories has not been alleviated, even with all the bread and circuses that capitalism has provided. As one worker said about the present auto strike, "If you don't strike, the company will kill you."

The struggles in this country for people to control their own lives, and create a better society, are only beginning. But they are there, and they will continue to grow.

However, as part of that struggle, it is beginning to appear questionable whether the indiscriminate use of violence can be useful. Unless most people can understand why violence is needed, then its use almost becomes counter-productive. Exemplary actions can be guides, but only in limited ways. A revolutionary movement can never be built unless it is engaged in struggles, but they are going to have to be struggles relating to the needs of the people in this country, as well as in third world countries.

What seems clear is that violent, anti-imperialist actions on campuses may at this time be uncalled for. The ability of large numbers of people to understand such solely anti-imperialist actions may have reached its limits. More than ever, militant campus actions should relate to the needs of the oppressed members of the community.

This means that students should either get off the campus and become involved in struggles that try to relate to the needs of the people (and this obviously does not mean bullshit like peace canvassing which only concerns itself with making some honky politician richer); or raise issues that will benefit oppressed members of the community, such as the establishment of day care centers, open admissions, stopping recruiters from General Motors during an auto strike, or creating Black Studies departments.

The struggle against imperialism must also be a struggle to create a just and humane society in this country. Power to the people means understanding and relating to the oppression of those people. The revolution is not going to be made by destroying all the buildings in Amerika, but by gaining control over our lives, and making the system work for us, not against us.

FOXMOOR

GIRLS CLOTHING BOUTIQUE

892-9209
68 SOUTH COUNTY
SHOPPING CENTER

O'CONNELL'S
IRISH PUB
454 North Boyle IN THE SQUARE
GENUINE IRISH WHISKEYS
GENUINE CHARCOAL GRILL
GENUINE CIVILIZED ATMOSPHERE

PAN AM Makes The Going Great

This is an abridged version of an article written by the Committee of Concerned Asian Scholars.

The great Boeing 707 cargo jet rolled off the runway toward the ramp at Travis Air Force Base. Turned and stopped by the white overalled technician waving a long, orange-coned flashlight, its doors rolled open to reveal the lightweight load it had brought on its return from the distant battlefield. One hundred and sixty-eight plastic wrapped, aluminum boxed bundles – the bodies of American soldiers killed in Vietnam. Another Pan American World Airways all-cargo charter was ready for unloading.

In 1968, Pan Am was paid $99.8 million for its charters to Vietnam: a sum large enough to account for 12 per cent of Pan Am's total revenues, enable its Pacific operations to generate 50 per cent of Pan Am's total profit, and make it the leading air transporter of men and materiel to Vietnam.

The public is only vaguely aware of the important role of the civilian airlines in prolonging the American involvement in Vietnam. Pan American has pioneered procedures which enable a military field commander to receive a high priority item from the States only 72 hours after requesting it.

On a psychological level, the flexibility and comfort of civilian jet transportation enables the military to break down G.I. resistance to combat service. John Bartholomew, passenger officer at Travis, noted during the Korean War troops sent out on ships eight days during which to question their motives build up anxiety. "This way they are in Vietnam wi 16 to 22 hours, before they have a chance to th about it. Besides, it's a lot mo nfortable to fly. It great way to go!"

Why has Pan Am taken uble to pioneer integration of civilian and m air transport an develop the rest and recreat ogram, design improve morale by giving G.I ak in th their combat tour? Why does itself "The Departme civil-commercial airlines pa questions lies in the na have allied themsel history, a fostered w

Pan Am ition of wealthy raptured with the glamour o erican investors interested in Latin America, and major aircraft manufacturers. In this period, Pan Am used its mail contracts with the Post Office Department to destroy potential competitors and its relationship with the State Department to win air rights in Latin America and Asia.

This coalition remained intact until the end of World War II, when domestic competitors began applying political pressure to break up Pan Am's monopoly in international air travel. To strengthen itself against competition, Pan Am joined with the aeronautics manufacturers and conservatives to urge an aggressive stance in post-war diplomacy and commercial competition.

In the 1950's Pan Am eliminated most of its ties with aeronautics manufacturers, retaining only those with Boeing. Its financial allies were narrowed to a few major banks, and it restrained its government influence to building close ties with the Air Force and Pentagon. These ties led ultimately to Pan Am's reliance on military contracts and a major role in the Vietnam War.

World War II and the Post-War World

The spectacular war time growth of the aircraft industry from less than one per cent of the gross national income in 1939 to ten per cent in 1945, presented a major peace time conversion problem for the industry and the national economy. America's continental boundaries could no longer absorb this enormous production, and the industry's acknowledged organ, American Aviation, announced its support for Pan Am's international program. (March 1, 1943)

"The United States should become imperialist in the Pacific – openly and aggressively. Not only should we take over every Japanese mandated island, but we should assume complete control over every other island now nominally 'owned' by another nation as far south as New Zealand and the East Indies. There should be no exceptions, for he who insists on compromise in the Pacific has no understanding of the ramifications of world air commerce."

With Pan Am's operations in the Atlantic faced with stiff competition from other airlines, and growth in Latin America stagnating, Pan Am found that its last major area of untapped potential was the Pacific. During the Korean War, the p f the Pacific was clearly revealed, and Pan A lan for long range jet aircraft, which were over the long Pacific distances.

Pan Am's chan required a different political strategy. merica, U.S. foreign relations were of the State Department, and corporations with the right conne strong diplomatic support.

But the post- e property of the organization whi American Armed Forces. Since A priorities in the region were stra of potential air transport was rel erations, Pan Am would have to in e military to reap the benefits of Pa

While military satisfy Pan Am in the early l directors had committed pital for the

It seems like an a managerial miscalculation, be eating this pattern almost exactly wit its new monster, the 747. The 747 will ate Pan Am's total capacity far beyon ns of the air travel market. Why?

In order to ans n, one has to look behind Pan Am's p acific Air Travel and examine the relati Pan Am, the major investment banks, ar anufacturers.

How P siness

Pan Am has a advantageous credit arrangement with 38 the country headed by First National C Manhattan. These two banks Am and Boei Pan potential ending U.S. legislation). First National City has a similar relationship with the two companies, for one of its officers is on Boeing's Board, and First National City's chairman, James S. Rockefeller, has been on Pan Am's board since 1953.

These banks are more than neutral investors seeking profitable holdings. In many cases they stimulate the purchase of aircraft that the airlines industry can not afford, and sometimes even wind up owning aircraft and leasing them to the airlines. Both banks make sure that Pan Am's $350 million slush fund is always filled. Recently they arranged the loan for Pan Am's $525 million deposit on twenty-five 747's which enabled Boeing to start production.

Encouragement from banking interests and a ready consumer in Pan Am help to explain Boeing's production of the streamlined 747. By 1965, Boeing had saturated its' domestic and international markets with the 707 and 727, and it seemed inevitable that the company's fortunes would begin to decline long before replacement orders for new 707's and 727's started coming in the mid-1970's. The only possible solution to such a problem was to design a new and more efficient jet and introduce it into the market in a way that would force all airlines to buy whole fleets of new models long before their old jets had become obsolete.

In 1965, Pan Am announced that by introducing the 747 on all its routes, it could reduce its costs by 30 per cent and pass on the savings to its customers. Faced with the spectre of having to compete with lower rates, all of Pan Am's competitors scrambled to place large orders for 747's. Conveniently, all of Pan Am's American flag international competitors have domestic routes as well. So that eventually even the entirely domestic airlines will be forced to buy the 747 to remain "competitive."

Not only wealthy American and European airlines, but also the capital-starved Third World nations have been forced to engage in wasteful competition. Airlines are an integral part of the national development image fostered by the World Bank, the Agency for International Development, and the State Department, d Pan Am has had a key role in encouraging necessary capital expenditures in this area.

Pan Am paternalistically trains personnel for feeder es of developing countries, not only in Latin America here a 1954 tigation revealed it owned bstantial stock n "independent" airways) and pre-war China, o in the middle East and the llipines.

ecently AID l d on Pan Am to help it build ternatio ines for Pakistan, Thailand, h through a technical assistance ican built equipment.

any's second hand aircraft ompanies trade in their pt Pan Am which he CIA's Air sell these nes which maze of the manufactu financial connections. of the non-scheduled airlines depend on the y for their business, they frequently delay purchase of their aircraft until the manufacturer has arranged a lucrative military contract to fill it. This tri-angular relationship was endangered in the 1960's when insufficient military activity brought the non scheduled airlines to a point of collapse: but with the war in Vietnam, these airlines and their circle of manufacturers and financiers have prospered.

The Military and Vietnam

In 1957, Pan Am lent money to the manufacturers and made sweeping purchases with the inevitable results. All the other airlines were forced to replace their entire fleets and dispose of outdated aircraft, and Pan Am was faced with a devastating surplus of passenger capacity far beyond the most optimistic projections for civilian passenger growth.

It was obvious to Pan Am and all industry observers that the only possible source of passengers and freight capable of filling such a huge capacity and promising a guaranteed source of growth was the U.S. Air Force.

Today Pan Am's "AirPak" cargo loading system is essentially the Air Force's 463L system. Without heavy Air Force use of Pan Am's all-cargo jets, such a large volume of international all-cargo service would be impossible in today's market.

Pan Am boasts that its reduced military rates for cargo and passengers are a self-sacrificing service to the nation. This simply is not true – the military offers

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An *Honest Film About Violent America*

Teenyboppers approach the pusher, in a scene from "Joe."

By Julie Daggett

Taking another look at "Easy Rider" is a good introduction to "Joe", the film now showing at the Brentwood Theater. "Easy Rider" dealt with two members of the new culture biking their way through southern America with an admirable amount of shit. Their encounters en route demonstrate the hostile splitting of American society into two camps, one blindly upholding the old order in the most fascist of manners, and the other completely rejecting that order.

At the end of the film, the parapatetic heroes become martyrs. Now, there are many things about "Easy Rider" that make it an interesting and enjoyable movie, but its presentation of a social issue is not one of them. It was quite simple for director Dennis Hopper to present these two as heroes for he knew the audience would accept them *a priori* as such. And he knew the rednecks would automatically be accepted as the villains. In other words, the characters (with the notable exception of Jack Nicholson) were mere stereotypes of a troubled America — any analysis of their situation was totally lacking. Intellectually, "Easy Rider" was overwhelmingly superficial.

"Joe" also deals with divergent life styles in today's America, but instead of presenting extracted end products of sociological changes, it shows its characters in their very worlds and treats these characters as persons rather than as symbols of the good and the bad in our society.

These two aspects — the characters in their own milieu and the characters as people — are the major departures of "Joe" from the usual American "social" movie. Apparently Hollywood's analysis of America's problems is simply that the country consists of those who are open, free and loving because they are *under* thirty and those who are reactionary because they are *over* thirty. But director John Avildsen sees the division due to a rigid social structure in which people of the various strata are forcefully defined by their classes, backgrounds and culture. The idea, of course, is hardly new, but it has largely been ignored in the American cinema until "Joe".

There are two classes and one option in Avildsen's film. The title character leads a lower-middle class existence, centering around the factory, beer and television, and containing just about every banality imaginable — all of which is apparently justified by the fact that Joe is working and paying for it (as opposed to the "niggers who make babies to make money"). William Compton is an advertising executive, leading a life as vacuous as Joe's but draped with manners and sophistication.

The clean, orderly worlds of Joe and Compton are contrasted by that of the hippies, who have opted out of all classes and created their own. They have rejected the worlds of the Joes and the Comptons but have subsequently become victims of their world of drugs (as Avildsen sees it), which has its own laws of supply and demand. Each of these three worlds is insulated from the others and any contact of one with the other is tinged with suspicion, if not hostility.

Just as Avildsen's look at these worlds is equally unsympathetic, his treatment of the characters is also detached. If Joe is crude and barely educated, he at least expresses his attitudes, which the spineless Compton would probably lack the nerve to do. In fact, Compton is almost unaware of his attitudes until he kills a hippie-pusher and it is Joe's abrasive, barely articulate exposition of Compton's own feelings that draws Compton to Joe. Compton's wealth and sophistication leads Joe to interpret this acquiesence in his attitude as approval of any action he might take. And because Joe is from the beginning a potentially dangerous person, this assumed approval is fatal: Compton becomes the catalyst to violence beyond his wildest dreams. The hippies become the hapless victims of an irrational fear and violent hatred of threatening social change.

Because Avildsen has chosen to concentrate on the psychology and life patterns of his characters rather than on statements and causes, he does not elicit emotional responses from the audience. The viewers' sympathies remain ambivalent, if existent at all, throughout the film. The final horror of the film is a horror of the irrational violence perpetrated rather than at a personal violence — in contrast to the approach exemplified by "Easy Rider", which assumes that everyone has taken sides and has identified with the protagonists, thus creating a totally emotional response.

Avildsen has admirably kept the people and issues in Joe under control, and, by avoiding identification with any of them, has made the most honest film to date about the violent society which America has become.

AIRPORT

By Captain Midnight

Hollywood movies are adept at producing two qualities: vivid action scenes and the creation of suspense or tension in the script. *Airport* conforms well to these qualities: it does have a suspenseful script and some of the action scenes are well done. But there is more to the picture: the acting is atrocious, and where no action scenes are involved the dialogue is banal and just plain stupid.

But *Airport* tells us something about Amerikan society, and Hollywood's formula for success. Every family involved in the film is either already fallen apart or on the verge of doing so. No husband or wife were happily married. In fact in almost all the marriages depicted in the film, either the husband or wife was having an affair with someone else. Hollywood must not put great faith in the holiness of the Amerikan family, if every family relationship is depicted as being sick.

And, that is the situation. Hollywood is not really creating certain ideas about the nuclear family; it is merely including that aspect of it in its scripts which it is familiar with, or knows. With the exception of Walt Disney movies, how many Hollywood films have you seen in the last five years where the family situations were stable? The nuclear family, and perhaps even the concept of marriage, may be dying, and Hollywood more than it realizes catalogues that death.

Hollywood producers have made fortunes by simply emphasizing action, or suspense, in their films. *Airport*, one of the major Big Budget films of 1969, is no exception. The two major scenes in the film are when an airport crew tries to remove an immobilized airplane from a runway, and a person on an airplane carrying a bomb detonates that bomb in the airplane. Both scenes are handled well: the camera shots are direct, the music effective, and the acting better than at any time in the film. (In fact when the actors have to portray normal human situations they are awful).

But is that the only way Hollywood can relate to its audiences, and its audiences relate to the drama in the film? Perhaps so. The formula has been very successful, but it may be failing, as evidence the numerical decrease in Hollywood films, both in action-type films and films in general.

The ability of the Amerikan empire to produce bread and circuses for the people can't continue much longer. Not only is the name of the game being identified — corporate capitalism — but the rules and the ingredients for success are being questioned.

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Will Working Women Be Liberated?

By Lynn Backus

One of the greatest problems with which Women's Liberation must grapple is that we have been largely a movement of young white middle-class women who haven't often enough tried to relate our struggle for a radically changed society to the needs of women of other classes and colors. There can be no doubt that the present needs of most American women (or other oppressed peoples) can be solved only in a totally different society, that Women's Liberation today is ultimately working for all women.

However, the tactics and programs advocated by most Women's Liberation groups generally do not appeal to many women and are actively opposed by some. We in Women's Liberation cannot expect to be understood unless we increasingly communicate with other classes and colors of women about our programs, and until they communicate with us about the manifestations of oppression in their lives.

Recently Women's Liberation in St. Louis was confronted by just such women whose negative reaction to Women's Liberation is a result of their fear that Women's Liberation will cause greater hardships in their lives. Women's Liberation marchers on August 26, the 50th anniversary of women's suffrage, were confronted by women employed at Carter Carburetor and Fisher Body plant who organized a counter march to our demonstration.

We in Women's Liberation marched to present demands to finish the unfinished business of women's rights and took stands for legalized abortion, free child care centers, equal rights in jobs and education, and for better images of women in the media and less pressure on them as consumers. The "Women for Women," who followed us through downtown St. Louis carrying signs reading "Women's Liberation is a no-no," and "Senorita Si – Comrade No," were basically concerned with the effects of the Equal Rights Amendment on them in their jobs.

Though we supported the amendment, it was not our primary focus that day. After passing the House, the amendment was one of our goals that seemed to be well on its way. Fortunately both women's groups began to talk to each other. From these conversations we realized that the ramifications of this legislation affecting the status, rights and image of women are much greater than we had anticipated. The Women for Women opened our eyes to problems we hadn't considered.

We had read about the Equal Rights Amendment (which reads: Equality of Rights under the law shall not be denied or abridged by the U.S. or by any state on account of sex.) and were familiar with various discriminatory laws which it would invalidate. For example it would require that Federal, State, and local governments provide equal employment opportunities for women; it would outlaw state laws which sometimes require that women recieve the maximum sentence for a crime, which restrict women in regard to property ownership, independent business ownership, dower rights, domicile and guardianship; it would invalidate state protection laws which "protect" women out of jobs by limiting the hours they can work, limiting the weight they can lift, and limiting the kinds of jobs they can take; and it would guarantee admission of women to publically supported schools under the same standards as men.

Along with the guarantee of equal rights, the amendment would bring equal responsibilities: women will be required to assume equal responsibility for alimony and support of children (according to their means), they will not be given automatic preference for custody of children, and there will be equal liability for military service. We in Women's Liberation realize that our liberation in many ways means assumption of new responsibilities, that these responsibilities are integral to control of our own lives.

From Their Viewpoint

For the women at Carter Carburetor and Fisher Body the situation is much more complex. Rather than seeing the Equal Rights Amendment as something which will slowly help women to gain control of their own lives, something which brings needed redress to many wrongs, they see it as something which adds to the oppression of their lives, particularly in two areas: the end of protective legislation and liability to the draft.

These women have always worked the maximum hours allowed by the state of Missouri – 9 hours per day, 54 per week. The State laws have kept them from working at jobs which require lifting of very heavy objects. They have longer relief periods than do men in their plants, and some what freer medical excuses to leave work. However, in the past several weeks both these plants have begun asking women to work overtime regardless of state laws. Women have been told to work men's jobs; they have been threatened with less relief time. They feel that they *cannot* physically do this, that they will lose their jobs, and that the Equal Rights Amendment (and behind it, Women's Liberation) is the cause.

They fear also the possibility of getting drafted, and of their daughters getting drafted. They fear loss of alimony and child custody. Thus added to their already heavy burdens of working 9 hours a day at a rigorous job, and of caring for families and homes, they will have additional burdens. They will not be liberated, they will be further oppressed. The laws which have kept them from being exploited as workers, as men are exploited, will be removed, and along with the hours of labor they do at home will be added extra hours of labor at work.

Some of us felt very strongly after listening to these women that we must talk to them further. First because they are women who are getting screwed by social forces outside their control. Second because we believe that Women's Liberation should offer them insights into the real cause of their oppression, and positive programs to end that oppression. In the weeks since the march a few of us have met with some of the Women for Women in order to share with them our information about the amendment and other laws which have to do with women. Together we can discuss realistic solutions to their problems. We also want to show our willingness to learn about their work situation, and to broaden their understanding of the goals of Women's Liberation.

Details of Amendment

Becuase we did not know to what extent the fears of these women were justified; we have done some research on laws affecting women, the background of the Equal Rights Amendment, its possible effects, and on unions. This research and our discussions with the women have clarified certain points.

(1) Clearly their fears of being asked to work like men are real fears; other women in other places, all factories as far as we know, are being asked now to work overtime, or at men's jobs.

(2) Also clearly it is not the Equal Rights Amendment which is causing this to happen – as it is not now, and perhaps will not be for years, a law. The cause is Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, forbidding discrimination in hiring and promotion in industry, which is now being applied to women. That it was not so applied until this last year may be due to the fact that protective legislation for women was thought of as a "reasonable exception" to Title VII. As the climate of opinion has been changed recently by Women's Liberation and the House passage of the Equal Rights Amendment, this "reasonable exception" is being interpreted differently – to mean that protective legislation is illegal since it does keep women out of certain jobs, and from doing certain amounts of work.

(3) These protective laws do keep some women out of desired jobs and work. Most women at Carter Carburetor and Fisher Body would probably like to work overtime. Some no doubt would like to work men's jobs. Cleveland women in the same union (UAW) as the Women for Women here staged demonstrations at their state capital to get enforcement of Title VII so that they could work the much higher paid weekend overtime. They supported the Equal Rights Amendment as did the UAW Women's Bureau.

(4) Industries (especially automobile industries it seems) will be glad to exploit women as they do men. Paying a worker time and a half is cheaper than hiring an additional worker – for whom there are costs of training, bookkeeping, and social security. This policy, of course, has a lot to do with the high rate of unemployment today.

(5) The fact that companies do exploit workers as much as possible in terms of on the job conditions should make workers look to unions to provide a solution to the problem. It would seem that *both* male and female workers should get together to fight compulsory overtime by making it a bargaining issue when contracts are renewed. However the history of union bargaining in the last 30 years is a history of wage issues, while on the job conditions deteriorate and rank and file workers get increasingly rebellious. The changes in union leadership of the last few years, and the large number of wildcat strikes, are caused by rank and file desire for better conditions of work – a desire which gets bypassed at the bargaining tables. Exploitation of women workers is just as unlikely to be solved by unions as exploitation of men workers.

(6) Amendment of the amendment then appears as a solution to many women. Since it seems likely that the amendment will pass the Senate, some women hope, at least, to revise it there in such a way as to allow protective legislation for women to continue. The only amendment offered, however, is the Ervin Amendment which would essentially negate the whole spirit of the amendment, and probably will not be added.

There is the possibility of stopping the amendment by blocking it in the states. But both of these alternatives – amending it or stopping it – do not deal with the Civil Rights Act, under which protective laws based on sex will be considered illegal anyway.

(7) There is still the possibility that courts will interpret the Equal Rights Amendment to mean that the protective legislation (or any legislation which confers a benefit on one sex) should be applied to both sexes – meaning in this case protective hours and weight limits would apply to male workers as well – rather than that such legislation for women must be striken. While this would retain the social gains made in the last 50 years and would in fact extend them so that male workers would not be as exploited, there is no guarantee that this will be the position taken by the courts.

If it were not so interpreted, protective legislation based on function (motherhood) or physical differences could be written by states. However, passage and interpretation of the amendment, and state revision of protective laws, could take years, years in which women and men will be working at the place and frequency industries demand.

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How Do We Deal With This?

This brings us now to our position What can we in Women's Liberation see and learn from this complex problem? Whether or not the opposition to the Equal Rights Amendment by the Women for Women is typical of the feelings of most women, most working women, or even most factory women, does not matter. The most important thing we learned is that we took a stand on an issue without a clear awareness of its effect on people's lives. Women's Liberation made no effort to explain to women the value of the amendment, the need for it, and its real effect.

This amendment was written particularly to free women to take top-level and managerial positions, to increase their upward mobility, and to equalize salary. Its effect on women with blue-collar jobs was not fully reckoned with. It is possible the laws may actually add burdens to their already over-worked backs. They may be required to work at full time jobs, plus over-time, then to return home and work for their husbands and children. Factory women and women who do manual work have special problems. For us to eventually be able to extend the new consciousness of freedom to all women, and to make it a reality for all women, these immediate and special needs must be realized and dealt with. We cannot, and will not, gain our liberation at the expense of other women.

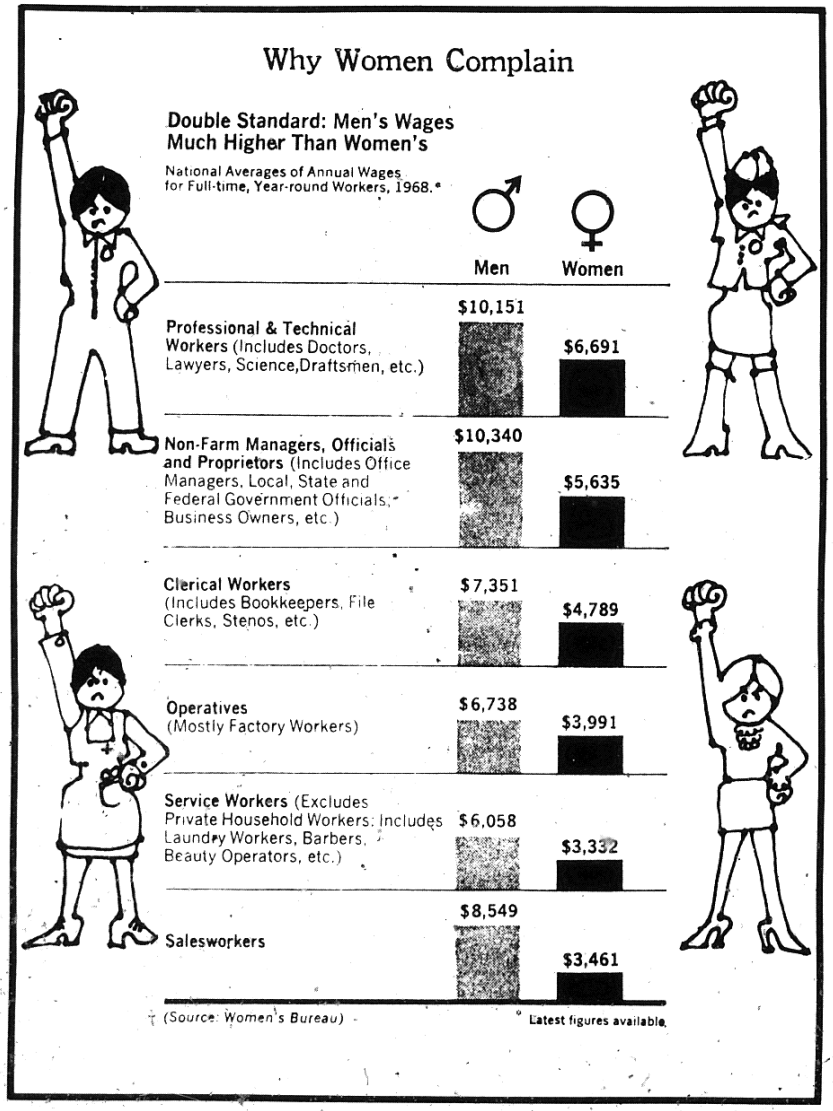
We have also learned from this experience that freedom from – in this case discriminatory laws – does not mean freedom to. As long as women remain fulltime housekeepers and mothers, even then they work, no removal of laws will free them. As Kate Millet points out in Sexual Politics, the legislation for women's equality enacted by Russia after the revolution was eventually a failure. Women were legally equal, but the social attitudes and structures which enslaved them remained unchanged. These social attitudes demanded that a woman be wife and mother and worker, and no programs were instituted to relieve her of this burden.

Women's Liberation must stand for positive programs which will free women instead of standing only for abstractions of equality. "The idea of the inferior status of women is deeply rooted in the society and will take a great deal of effort to eradicate. But once the structures which produce and support that idea are changed, then and only then can we hope to make progress." (Women and the Law, Leo Kanowitz) Women's programs which will change the social structure might be:

1. Free, community controlled 24 hour child care centers, staffed by paid men and women of all ages.
2. Guaranteed income for all people.
3. Maternity leave for men and women.
4. Health insurance to cover maternity and birth control.
5. Fathers and mothers working short days or short work weeks to permit both more time to rear children.
6. Wages to mothers for raising children.
7. Extension of Federal Minimum Wage to every job within reach of the federal authority – such as household workers (86 per cent of the 2.2 million houseworkers are women).
8. Revision of social security to pay out for input of working wives of working men.

Finally we see the necessity for Women's Liberation to come to terms with conflict between the demand for absolute equality and the realities of women's lives. We must have some strategy for achieving solutions which will guarantee advancement of some women, and at the same time guarantee that this will not mean the further exploitation of our sisters.

We also see that perhaps for the Women for Women there is no solution now – not through exploitative, profit-seeking industries, wage-focused unions, or reforms made from the top by liberal legislators. We see that there will be many immediate problems like this one which will have no solution. The fact that there is no solution shows our need of a new social and political system with more human goals, in which the quality of people's lives and people's control over their lives are priorities.



A program of chamber music will be presented by local musicians from a well-known group that we are not at liberty to mention as a benefit for the Legal Defense Fund. The event will be held of October 2, 8:30 p.m. at the Ethical Society, 9001 Clayton Road. Admission is $2 for students and $3 (or hopefully more) for others. Tickets will be available at the door and at Left Bank Books. Help your brothers and sisters fight legal repression in St. Louis. Donations are urgently needed and can be sent to Legal Defense Fund, 6612 Waterman, St. Louis, 63130.

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Swords Into Plowshares Into Dollars

By George Lipsitz

One by-product of the anti-war movement has been an increasing awareness of the role of large corporations in our society. People opposing the war have seen that the major reason for U.S. involvement in suppressing revolutions in Africa, Asia, and Latin America is to protect access to markets and raw materials for imperialist corporations like United Fruit, Standard Oil, and Anaconda Copper. In addition, so much of the economy is based on defense-related spending that any militaristic policy or expenditure is automatically approved on the grounds of keeping the economy sound.

Many people have argued that the solution to this problem is to encourage those corporations to convert their resources to peaceful domestic uses like increased consumer goods and social services like housing, transportation, and education. The proponents of conversion to those areas believe that corporations would then serve a positive social function and that their power would be used for the public good. Such thinking is disastrously wrong and will only serve to increase rather than decrease the problems now caused by the power of corporations.

"Profit is the monetary measure of our contribution to society" says David Packard, Assistant Secretary of Defense, and former president of Hewlett-Packard, a giant aerospace firm. The nature of business is that its sole rationale is profit, regardless of the social consequences—whether they be pollution of the environment or genocide of the Vietnamese. And whenever people try to gain control over what business is doing to them, the government bails them out and makes sure that their profit is protected.

As one radical writer puts it, "When big business was slavery, the government protected the slave owners. It tracked down escaped slaves for the owners and returned them. When big business was railroad building, the government gave away the nation's land to the railroads, arranged to import workers and sent in the Army to prevent strikes. When manufacturing became big business, the government made strikes illegal and shot down strikers."

In addition, when the pressures at home became too great, the government launched a policy of imperialism so that business could make enough profits abroad to afford the concessions at home which could prevent revolution. And, most recently, when World War II ended the Great Depression, the government obligingly adopted a "cold war economy" which used the government's resources and planning to buoy up and save the economy.

All of these measures however, proved to be temporary. Social change when postponed does not dissolve, the pressure for it only becomes greater. For a while, the inflated standard of living in America produced by the exploitation of the third world did forestall a labor revolt. For a while, the presence of the U.S. military in the third world forestalled revolutions in those countries. For a while, the cold war economy succeeded in sufficiently subsidizing big business so that it enjoyed a period of relative prosperity. But the pressures have been accumulating, and the U.S. empire is threatened by the backlog of oppression in this country, revolutions in the third world and a fiscal crisis which threatens the dissolution of the state.

According to Fortune, the mouthpiece of corporate liberalism, "U.S. corporations think they are having a hard struggle for profit as it is, but they are even worse off than their figures indicate." There are precious few alternatives open to corporate capitalists.

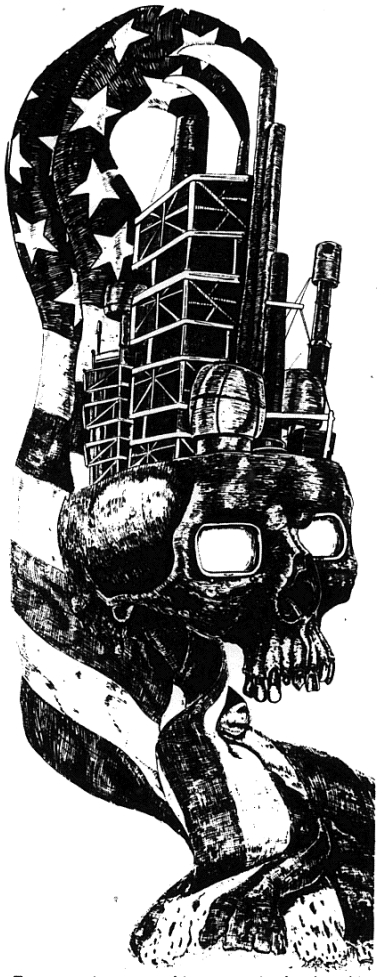
The most likely area for them to turn to is of course the government. Defense-based spending has showed the advantages of government spending over the market-economy; business is assured of a stable paying customer who always buys more with little concern for quality. With defense spending already at a dangerous level, and third world expenditures increasingly causing inflation, the most likely expansion of business activity will come in the creation of new areas of exploitation within the U.S. That is where the idea of conversion comes in.

Advanced industrial capitalism eventually reaches a saturation point in producing consumer goods profitably. Once so many refrigerators or cars are bought, the job of business is to create new needs—needs which can easily be filled by more consumption. Thus the "need" to have the latest model car or the "need" to live up to advertising standards of beauty are created to make a further buck off the already shattered and atomized consumer/producer.

The one area of new needs which seems to offer the greatest potential for capitalism is the "service" area—teaching, housing, transportation and social bureaucracy. There are, or course, very real needs in these areas which have not been filled because it is not profitable to do so. Any program which *genuinely* tried to give people decent housing, education, and transportation would be applauded, but when big corporations think of moving into those areas they have no such plans.

Just as technological development in the third world is a good thing, but is simply not what is accomplished by U.S. imperialism, the kinds of advances needed in service fields will be ignored and profit will be maximized. And, as in the third world, such exploitation will have to be accompanied by pacification programs to break down existing social groups which could resist change and to insure business as usual.

The single most important feature of this system is corporate control—decisions made by a few for the sole reason of making a profit.



To a certain extent this process is already taking place. Defense and aerospace conglomerates want to use a "systems technology" to develop new mass markets as they are faced with cuts in defense spending. This will mean that the federal government will subsidize aerospace manufacturers' efforts to rebuild cities so that they become more profitable to business. The aerospace companies will point to urban decay and say that the "systems technology" which landed men on the moon will solve urban problems.

In St. Louis, this will take the form of the Challenge For the Seventies, a program designed by McDonnell Aircraft to redevelop the city. This redevelopment will mean making the city a better commercial center. Thus, local governments with their clumsy zoning laws and potential for citizen participation will be replaced by "regional governments" run by technicians trained, coincidentally enough, by the systems technologists at the aerospace companies.

Any hope for cities being designed for better living will be lost as tax money will be directed in two areas—showcase cultural attractions for business, and technical improvements like bigger airports and more roads. The latter will be built and designed for business needs but will be paid for by everyone else in the name of civic improvement.

Making the cities more profitable places for business will becomea whole new industry. Services now handled, however poorly, by small businesses will become centralized in the hands of giant corporations. This is already happening in the housing industry, where "Operation Breakthrough" housing and other Nixon-supported programs are introducing assembly-line construction which will take most of the housing market away from small and medium sized contractors and will centralize the housing industry in the hands of a few large firms like Alcoa, U.S. Steel, Kaiser, and National Gypsum.

In the past, such centralization has meant more profits for corporations but greatly worsened conditions for consumers and workers. It is unlikely that this will be an exception. This housing will be of inferior quality, designed for efficiency in construction rather than for use, and will further standardize life in our society—the face of cities and individual homes will be determined by the rationale of profit rather than local wishes. In addition, it will make workers dependent on the kinds of jobs where they have the least control over their lives and where their exploitation is greatest in terms of the disparity between what they produce and what they receive.

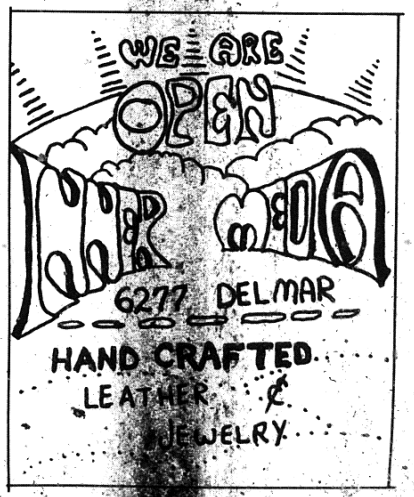
In education, the process of applying systems technology will mean that firms like Xerox and IBM move into large scale production of teaching machines and standardized methods of education. Already, the Lockheed company is selling a "packet" drug education course wherein students are taught all the evils which will befall them if they use drugs. This kind of education eliminates any possibility of local control, and means that the prevailing values as to what people need to know will be determined by large corporations bent on making a profit. The socializing effects of such "education" already exist, but making them routine big business will lend a truly fascist tone to American education.

In transportation, economic growth will be geared for the needs of corporations as well. This is already taking place in different forms. The Bay Area Rapid Transit system in San Francisco is designed to Manhattanize San Francisco by giving industry a quick and efficient source of transportation. Most of the Bay Area's residents who are paying for BART will not be serviced by it — so narrowly conceived is its role. The people who could most use cheap rapid transit, workers, the poor and shoppers will find that there won't even be service near their homes unless they live in the business district of San Francisco or in the affluent suburbs.

The overall pattern is one of increasing centralization and profit for the few, and exploitation both economically and psychically for the many. If this kind of systems planning is implemented it will be the final wedding of business and government to the point where they are identical. The regional planners will be our government, the corporations our teachers, and cost/efficiency our social contract.

It is a grim prospect, but it is not an inevitable one. For one thing, there is considerable doubt whether the corporations could spend enough money profitably in the cities to justify such an effort. Their economic situation is so precarious that a few unsuccessful efforts and it will be back to the defense or space coffers at whatever cost to the fiscal health of the state.

But there is another possibility which is much more hopeful. The attention focused on what it would take to "revitalize" the cities is a good one, because it will encourage people to struggle with ways that they *could* have decent housing, education, and transportation. If the profit rationale were eliminated, if power was in the hands of the people and not the corporations, it would be easy to have those services. In a society where the producers and citizens controlled the wealth, it would be allocated for their benefit. It is about time we started moving in that direction.



transformed. Today more than any other single project this great stadium area marks the determination of our community to grow and to prosper. It symbolizes the results of a unique partnership between private business, labor unions, various branches of the government, and long range planning."

And the Needs Still go Unmet

The principal demand of "Pavilion for Children and Youth" is that the SP be converted into a day care center. The fact that there is a shortage of such facilities in St. Louis is directly related to the existence of the SP and its position in the wider scheme of development planned for St. Louis. Resources committed to the development of new sources of profit are simply made permanently unavailable to meeting human needs.

How is it that the monied interests in St. Louis can invest over $100 million on building up downtown while working women have difficulty finding centers at which they can leave their children? The answer lies basically in the fact that capitalists are unwilling to invest large amounts of money in ventures that promise little or no return. The answer lies also in the fact that the men who are responsible for redevelopment plans control most of the city's "welfare" programs – public and private– and are interested in maintaining them only as means of dodging taxes and placating the poor, not as vehicles for social change. Richard Goodson, for example, who sits on both the CCRC and PF boards, is President of the United Fund – the principal charitable funding group in St. Louis. Goodson, and men like him, control these funding agencies in order to dictate the nature of "welfare" agencies. They are not interested in creating social services that are responsive to community people; they are not interested in creating healthy day care environments for St. Louis children.

The fight to convert the SP into a day care center is part of a larger struggle by community people to win control of available resources. At the same time, it is an attack on corporate interests that currently control these resources in St. Louis and throughout the world. Winning this battle is important as a beginning in seizing control of some of these resources, but winning it alone is not sufficient – it is only a drop in the bucket. Only when the system that is responsible for placing a priority on Spanish Pavilions over day care centers – on profits over people – is destroyed, can we claim victory.

The St. Louis Outlaw is an independent, radical newspaper published semi-monthly, affiliated with KDNA Radio, 102.5 FM. Offices are at KDNA Radio, 4285 Olive, St. Louis, Missouri 63108. Phone 652-6161.

To be considered for publication, articles and letters must carry the signature and phone number of the author, but names will be withheld on request.

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With divisions, subdivisions, acquisitions and wholly owned subsidiaries Coca-Cola is the seventy-eighth largest American corporation. Its net worth, including the trademarks, approaches $4,000 million.

But this includes only 22 of the 1,800 bottling plants pumping out Coke around the world. The others are bottling franchises who buy syrup and supplies from the 22 major syrup plants. Not even Coca-Cola has estimated the combined net worth of the bottling companies, but with the assets of the Coca-Cola corporation itself, it could possibly comprise the world's largest privately owned enterprise.

Coca-Cola has made more millionaires than any other product in history. A single share purchased for $40 in 1919, when they were first offered to the public, is now worth some $8,500 including splits and accumulated dividends. Last year was the best in Coca-Cola's history, a statement that can be made every year.

The Coke team spirit includes the whole family. "It's one big happy family," said the wife of a junior executive. "My real family. It must be awful not to have somebody like Coca-Cola to belong to. I don't know how I'd feel without it."

A senior Coke executive explained: "If all the Coke ever produced were in regular (6 1/2 ounce) bottles placed end to end, they would girdle the earth 3,500 times—or reach the moon and back 200 times. If it were distributed in regular bottles to everyone in the world, each person would get 220 bottles. If a single bottle was large enough to contain it, the bottle would be over a mile high and 2,000 feet wide."

Coca-Cola brings the American way of drink to 138 countries, 15 more than the United Nations' membership. Ninety million Cokes a day are consumed, 250 products in 500 packages; nothing, it seems, can stop it.

"Coca-Cola is everything I exist for," said a senior vice-president at corporate headquarters in Atlanta, Georgia. "I live and breathe it. We all do. It's made us what we are." It was 9 a.m. and he was gulping Coke from the bottle, his first of the morning. Free Cokes are dispensed on all floors of all company offices, and most executives chain-drink them throughout the working day.

"Americans associate Coca-Cola with the flag and motherhood," reflected an advertising officer, "and that's the image we work night and day to maintain. We don't dare use sexy advertising or cheap gimmicks. We avoid association with alcohol and such things; Coca-Cola is an all-family drink for all ages, and we can't afford to offend the sensibilities of any group anywhere. We stand for the very highest quality and finest taste. Clean-cut, upright, the family, Sunday, the girl next door. Wholesomeness. America's Best."

Coke was first produced in 1885 as a hang-over tonic by an Atlanta pharmacist, John Pemberton, who at the turn of the century sold his interest to another all-American pharmacist, Asa Candler. Candler master-minded Coca-Cola's upsurgence for a quarter of a century. He was a consummate businessman and a churchgoing, God-fearing pillar of the community—a combination that has meant success in the American business world. He had immense faith in God, America and Coca-Cola, and his associates and subordinates had immense faith in him.

The man who succeeded Candler in 1923, Robert Woodruff, in his 80's, still participates in major company decisions and exemplifies the qualities of American business leadership.

Woodruff struck out in earnest for a world market. He had a vision of everybody in the world drinking Coke—"Chinese coolies and Cuban campesinos, English debutantes and Italian peasants."

And when Pearl Harbor was attacked in 1941, Woodruff declared war too. No GI anywhere, he promised, would ever go thirsty for a Coke—at five cents a bottle. Gerneral Eisenhower cooperated magnificently. One of his first concerns after securing beachheads in North Africa and Normandy was the construction of Coca-Cola bottling plants. American soldiers—Ike included—downed 10,000 million bottles of Coke during the Second World War.

"When a soldier in Vietnam has a Coke," a vice-president recently reflected, "it satisfies his need to identify with the American tradition and way of life. It reminds him of what he's fighting for."

The Coca-Cola advertising budget, unofficially estimated at pushing $100 million, is a company secret. But its officers admit that Coke is the most heavily advertised product in the world.

Thus, Coke illustrates the trend of American business: less effort is expended on the product itself than on increasingly frenzied publicity about it. Since the ingredients of Coke never vary, and the manufacturing process has remained essentially unchanged for 75 years, the remark of one vice-president is very understandable: "Communications come first, even before the product itself. How to put it across is what counts."

Asked about the future, one of the company's vice-presidents responded fervently: "We will sell more. Keep on selling more—and more and more. There's no such thing as a saturation point. Drink a Coke and theoretically you're ready for the next one in 30 minutes.

"In some districts, people drink a thousand a year—yet the national average is only about a hundred a year, and the world average is far smaller. So we've only started this business; the growth potential is unlimited. Up and down the highways and byways of this brave new world men everywhere will never postpone for long their need for refreshment. It's inevitable. Everything's in our favor."

LUMBERJACK

By Tom Scribner

The Bolshevik Revolution in Russia in November 1917 came like the thunder clap of the atom bomb. It caught the workers of all the world by complete surprise – and it dumbfounded the master class as well.

I was only age 18 and was setting chokers at the time in a logging camp in Oregon, and I was, of course, a confirmed I.W.W. (Wobblie). I listened to furious arguments among the I.W.W. crew members and they were split right down the middle as to what really went on in old Russia. The great works of Lenin were yet to be circulated in the U.S., so quite naturally, we were in the dark as far as authentic information was concerned. Oh yes, the bosses' newspapers were full of news about "That Red Butcher, Lenin," but us Wobblies knew from sad past experience about the authenticity of such sources!

In the meantime the I.W.W. started a deeline after the Russian Revolution and the split widened on the question of political action. In the early 20's the split was finalized and for a time there were two groups, each claiming to be the real I.W.W. Workers were quitting the organization right and left and the political action wing finally wound up in the new American Communist Party.

By 1923 I was out of the I.W.W. and was in NOTHING until 1928 when I ran into Bill Foster's National Lumber Workers Union. I found therein scores of my former "fellow workers" of the Wobblies. This union was affiliated with the Red International of Labor Unions.

I went to work in the new union side by side with members of the then new Communist Party, and found them to be the best union men I had ever seen. This pretty much sold me on the Communist Party so I joined them in 1929. We are all aware of what happened in 1929 – and the Communist Party certainly didn't cause that depression! What they DID do was to organize some three million American workers into a huge unemployed organization. Also we raised such a fuss through demonstrations that the much despised Communist Party DID get unemployment compensation, social security, and aid to dependent children. These measures did not come automatically, they came into being by way of a hard struggle – led by the Communist Party.

This much despised party also played a leading role in the organization of the big C.I.O. unions in auto, steel, lumber, rubber, longshore, electrical, and mine, mill, and smelter industries. Regardless of what the commun[illegible]haters say – I've "seen the movie and read the boo[illegible]as the saying goes. Many an American family survive[illegible]e depression ONLY because of Communist activity. It was struggling against great odds, AGAINST public apathy, and against the big wheels in both major parties.

We took the lead in the anti-war and anti-fascist movements of the day. We picketed scrap iron going to Japan. We fought actively against evictions. I was jailed as the result of picketing in an agricultural strike when the pay was ten cents per hour and we asked thirty-five cents per. I was also jailed because of participating in demonstrations against war and fascism.

Now: if you are a worker, ask yourself: "Which side SHOULD I have been on? Should I have laid still for ten cents per hour and let my family starve? When you see a family being evicted into the street, would you help the family, or would you help the "law" evict them?

I see nothing horrendous at all about communism. It is merely a system of public ownership of the factories, mines, mills, power, etc. Under PRIVATE ownership we are forever having depressions or wars. People can function in co-ops and they certainly do co-operate on baseball teams. Why not in industry? We boast about our private enterprise economy, but a public enterprise economy would possibly have done much better.

One thing is for sure: The communist movement is being led by the most oppressed and exploited sections of the populace. So, to the communist-haters I would say: Get busy, and fight against war. Fight against poverty and insecurity. These are the breeding grounds of communism.

If the so-called "free world" can produce a better and more secure living standard for these "most oppressed"

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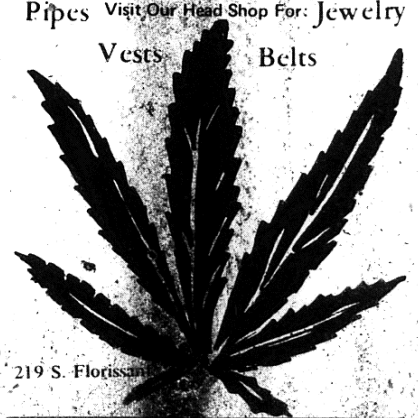
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OUTLAW 12

wisconsin bombing

On August 24, a massive pre-dawn explosion destroyed the Army Mathematics Research Center (AMRC) on the University of Wisconsin campus, doing an estimated $6 million damage. Despite a telephone warning to police, one man was killed in the blast. The AMRC, entirely funded by the Army, does the "pure" and "neutral" research so important for the deadly work of imperialism.

The following article shows how the bombing was no isolated incident but grew out of a lengthy campus struggle. The bombing became, in the context it was done, another tactic. When a bombing is done after a lengthy struggle which has produced almost no results, it can be part of a general strategy. But unless people are aware of the importance of a target in itself, a bombing can be purely adventuristic.

In no way can bombings be substituted for the much harder task of building a movement. Buildings can always be replaced; movements are more difficult to replace.

It is not enough to simply "smash imperialism." A revolutionary movement in this country also has to be created while trying to destroy imperialism, otherwise we will all be destroyed. A bombing also must in some way contribute to building a movement that will replace imperialism. Exemplarary action can show the way; adventurism provides nothing more than ego-tripping.

MADISON, Wisc. (LNS) – The day after the Aug. 24 explosion which demolished the Army Mathematics Research Center (AMRC), Dr. Ben Noble of AMRC told the press, "We don't work on projects for the Army as such, but merely on long range mathematical problems that may be helpful to anyone." Noble further contended that the center was not involved in secret work since all projects were reported in public annual reports.

The AMRC was created in the late 1950's by the Defense Department and is the only such research center in the country. It is funded by the Army with $1.4 million annually. In 1968, AMRC had 12 research fellows and 75 staff members proudly described by AMRC as "specialists in areas of value to the Army." In its reports to the Army, quite different from its public pronouncements, the AMRC boldly declared that these specialists "furnish instruction to Army personnel, advise and assist them with respect to the solution of math problems, make technical studies of the use of mathematics in Army activities and participate in Army sponsored mathematical meetings..."

The director of the Center, J. Barkley Rosser, has clear ties with the military, including a stint with the Institute for Defense Analysis Rosser, who has helped develop the Polaris missile, has openly stated that he "very definitely" thought "that the work we do is useful to the Army."

AMRC's protests notwithstanding, its research is, in fact, shrouded in secrecy. And this secrecy is protected by the University Board of Regents, which, in 1965, passed a resolution introduced by Regent Helen Laird (mother of the Secretary of Defense) which stated that even all Regents and officers of the university, except the university and one specified Regent, "can be effectively denied access to top secret classified information in the conduct of business of the Army Math Research Center."

Due to this secrecy it is impossible to obtain accurate and complete information on the nature of AMRC research. Nevertheless, the information unearthed indicated that the AMRC has played a crucial role in the maintenance and protection of the American empire.

In 1967, the AMRC advised and assisted the Army's Project Michigan. This program developed the high altitude infra-red surveillance equipment that was used to track down Che Guevara and the Bolivian guerrillas, and which is still employed against insurgents throughout Southeast Asia.

As the AMRC director has admitted, the Center's research was also indispensible in improving and reducing the cost of the Safeguard ABM system. The AMRC's contribution to the development of ABM was made possible by a graduate student, Frank Loscalzo, whose work on differential equations made possible, according to AMRC, an "accurate, fast, and stable" method of predicting missile tragectories. Loscalzo now works for Bell Telephone Labs, the prime contractor for ABM.

Loscalzo, while at Wisconsin, strongly opposed the war in Vietnam. This only shows the irrelevance of personal opinions within a system where "pure" research is encouraged, financed and channeled for ends of which the researcher is indifferent or ignorant. It also shows that though such research "may be helpful to anyone" its most important benefactor is U.S. imperialism.

Demonstrations demanding the abolition of the AMRC kept the campus in turmoil all last year with repeated confrontations between students and police. The demand for the abolition of AMRC, along with ROTC and the Land Tenure Center at Wisconsin, which does government research on Latin America, was supported by the student government. There were public hearings on the functions of AMRC. In November, student anger was further fanned when David Siff, a young English professor who had researched the activities of AMRC, was summarily dismissed.

For months, debate raged in the Daily Cardinal, the campus newspaper, over the ties of the Math Center to the Army, beginning with a freshman orientation supplement on imperialism and the university, and followed by symposiums, pamphlets, and departmental meetings which brought the issue before virtually every member of the university community. Action began in November with a march declaring that "so long as there is a war in Vietnam, there will be a war at the University of Wisconsin."

A week of demonstrations planned for December brought down injunctions barring supposed leaders from activities ranging from entering classes in which they were not enrolled to "voluntarily singing in public buildings." Radicals continued their protests, however, taking over classes to discuss the issues and engaging in

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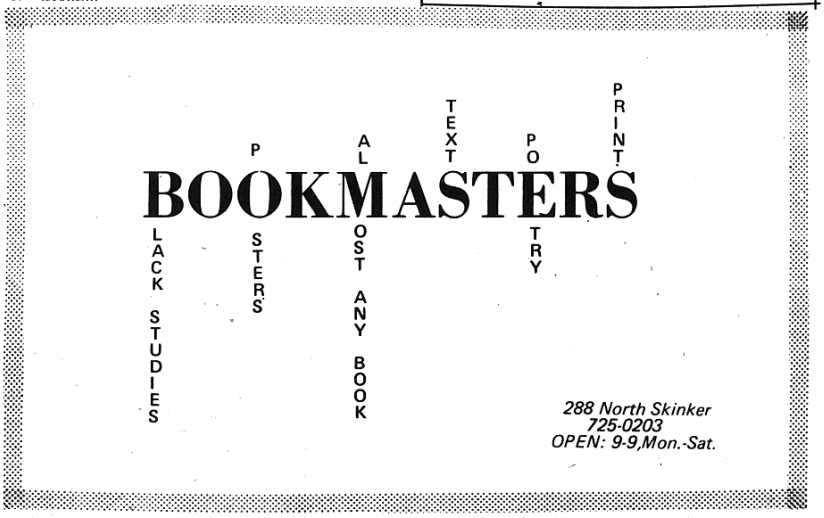
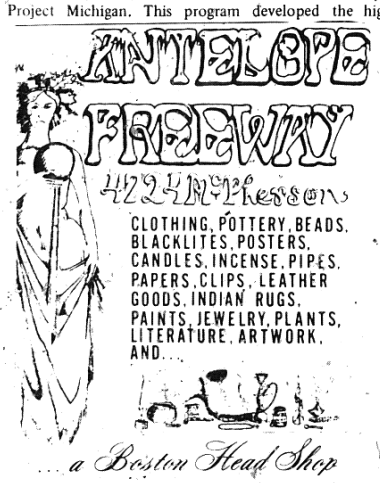
As in the rest of the movement, there are disagreements among staff members of the Outlaw as to what tactics will be most likely to bring about the kind of social change we desire. In discussing the Wisconsin bombing some of these disagreements came up and we think that it's important to air our differences so that people can begin dealing with these questions.

Some of us believe that there are objections which must be raised to this tactic. Certainly, none of us grieve over the damage done to the Army Math Research Center in itself, and none of us exult over the death of the graduate student who was inside the building when it blew up. Taking a life was not the intent of the bombing, and considerable effort was made to warn the police to clear the building. The fact that a man was killed was due to a miscalculation, regrettable because individual men are not the enemy, possible only because the system which uses violence as its major tool constantly puts innocent people in positions where they are caught between the oppressor and the oppressed.

However, some of us believe that such bombings play a destructive role in bringing about the changes we want. Unlike Third World revolutionaries, we won't win by driving the oppressor back to his own country, by retreating to "liberated" areas from which to carry on attacks against the oppressing army, or by creating chaos which proves the inability of the government to make needed changes. In post-industrial society like ours the oppressor is our own country, there are no liberated areas, and the problem is more one of demonstrating ways to end the chaos of the system by posing alternative means of organization.





ACTION REPORT ASSAILS POLICE

The St. Louis Police Department has been charged with systematic and unremitting brutality toward the black community by ACTION, a local black activist organization. In a special "Blue Paper" report, ACTION lists 112 separate incidents of brutality against blacks by members of the police force during the past five years. Of these, 38 were cases where policemen shot and killed blacks.

ACTION quotes the president of the St. Louis Board of Police Commissioners, Colonel James L. Sanders, as saying in the July 11, 1969, *St. Louis Police Report* that "Police today must fulfill the roles of officer, judge, and prosecutor to be successful." And in case after case, ACTION shows how the police have done just that, applying instant punishment, even execution, to blacks who happen to be in their way.

"The majority of the victims were unarmed and were running away from the police. Therefore, they posed no threat to the life of the policemen and could have been stopped by methods other than a bullet in the back of the head or in the back," reads the report.

Why do such incidents exist? ACTION points out that in a city which is 60 per cent white, there have been only five publicized incidents of police misconduct against white people in the last five years as compared to a minimum of 112 incidents against black people who make up less than 40 per cent of the population.

"Presently white policemen who patrol black neighborhoods come from secluded all white areas like St. Ann, Baden, Lemay, Crestwood, south St. Louis, and southern Missouri. These policemen are neither culturally or emotionally equipped to understand the black neighborhood," according to the report.

However, the brutality against blacks is not only the response of individual policemen. It is programmed into the entire system of police-community relations and is an inevitable result of the way power is distributed in this city.

ACTION's report shows the St. Louis Board of Police Commissioners to be totally unresponsive to the people. Appointed by the governor, and answerable only to the power structure, the Board is supposed to discipline officers who have abused their power. Despite over 112 incidents of brutality, the Board has disciplined only one officer in the last five years.

But it is more than the unresponsiveness of legal channels. One important part of ACTION's report details the use of "dum dum" bullets, which are so grotesque that they have been outlawed from warfare by international law, yet they are used by the St. Louis police.

The report points out:

"Basically the dum dum bullet has a copper jacket and a soft hollowed nose. On impact, the lead nose collapses over the jacket. The effect is like an atomic bomb explosion in the victim's body. Because of this result, use of the dum dum has been outlawed in warfare by a number of conventions, including the Hague Declaration of 1907 where British doctors complained that treatment of wounds caused by the dum dum was impossible."

A California policeman administers "justice" to a black victim.

The pattern is clear. The individual officer's lack of knowledge of the community he patrols, official sanction for virtually any police action, and the acceptance of weapons conducive to murder all bolster the repressive nature of this city.

ACTION's purpose in releasing this report is "to make the public see the threat to the total community of a police department that allows white policemen unlimited power to use their guns at will in the black community."

To correct the situation, ACTION demands the following:

1. A policeman shall fire his weapon only in self-defense or in defense of a citizen's life.

2. No unarmed suspect, or fleeing unarmed suspect, shall be fired upon, brutalized, or framed.

3. A policeman who violates the above policy by shooting or maiming an unarmed suspect shall be immediately fired, charged with "illegal discharge of firearms" and the "intent to do great bodily harm with malice" and brought to trial as would any other citizen under such a charge.

If the unarmed person is KILLED the policeman would be charged with first degree murder. He would be brought to trial as would any other citizen under such a charge.

4. White policemen and their families must move into the neighborhoods they patrol.

5. The St. Louis Board of Aldermen must see to it that they have more say-so about police money spending and other policies.

6. Robert Barton, director of Police Community Relations, must move himself and his family into an economically deprived black neighborhood to observe the ineffectiveness of present programs and how false hopes promised by the Police Community Relations program are fast becoming fuel.

For more details contact ACTION, P.O. Box 21313, St. Louis, Mo. 63115

County to Use Helicopters Against the People

By Jeff Schevitz

We don't have television cameras in every room monitoring our every move, but we are getting closer to that day in St. Louis. The St. Louis County Police Department, following the lead of the Berkeley, California, Police Department, is leasing two helicopters equipped with searchlights, loudspeakers, and radios.

County Supervisor Lawrence K. Roos calls police helicopters "an important new weapon in the war against crime." But "crime" these days means holding rallies and marches on the Washington University campus – a result of the permanent injunction issued during the summer by the county court.

The helicopters will be most frequently used against political "criminals", people who collectively demand changes in the way this country, this city, and its corporations and schools are run. The helicopters will be used to watch the movements of demonstrations in order to better deploy police and troops; they will be used as harrassment so that rally speakers can not be heard; they can, like they were in Berkeley, be used to drive people crazy with their noise by flying over student residential areas for hours at a time.

The use of helicopters is but another step in the increasing surveillance of the population by various levels of government. Surveillance is used to intimidate people from using their First Amendment rights and from exercising their collective political power.

We must begin to mobilize support against the leasing of these helicopters and regularly appear in large numbers at meetings of the County Board of Supervisors. Mass mobilizations in Berkeley forced the city to give up its plans for regular helicopter use, although helicopters are still used there whenever there are demonstrations. The people in Berkeley have found that interest in [illegible] grows greatly whenever helicopters appear.

Ft. Hood Rebellion

Ft. Hood, Texas (LNS) – A small group of black GIs walk into an infantry barracks to listen to some music. Some of the white GIs inside don't want the blacks to listen to music. Two of these whites are hunting buddies of a Lieutenant Colonel, so they are allowed to have their shotguns inside the barracks, against Army regulations. The whites with the illegal shotguns force the black brothers out of the barracks. One shotgun goes off, but the black man it was pointed at gets away. He and his friends scatter and regroup on the steps of a barracks three blocks away.

Two white MPs appear on the scene. They order the *black* GIs to the Provost Marshall's office. The blacks refuse. The MPs call for reinforcements which quickly appear, 30 of them in neat "riot control" formation. A solitary black GI tries to cross the street to join his brothers on the barracks steps. Two MPs grab him and club him.

This is the stuff rebellions are made of, and 250 black GIs rebelled that Sunday, July 26. Throughout the night and into the early hours of the morning they fought the MPs, the Texas National Guard and a few white GIs. Angry blacks threw low-explosive grenade simulators at the MPs, trashed day rooms and an orderly room, and kicked the ass of the Lt. Col. who had authorized the barracks shotguns. MPs arrested 30 blacks, dragging many from their bunks and beating them before throwing them into the stockade. Throughout the base isolated blacks were grabbed and clubbed.

Fatigue Press, the local GI newspaper, described the July 26 rebellion as strictly a black thing – "Most whites in the area stayed on the sidelines and watched or remained in the barracks. A few got into fights." Their article tried to show white GIs how the Army uses racism to defuse the potentially explosive GI movement: "The Army doesn't have to worry about the white EM (enlisted man) fighting for his rights so long as he is preoccupied with fear and dislike of the black EM."

The brass and the ruling class don't publicize the many other such "minor scuffles" at Ft. Hood and at practically every other military base in the country and the empire. The rebellion of the Ft. Hood 43 – black GIs who refused to participate in riot duty in Chicago during the Democratic National Convention – and the broad GI support that was mobilized for the defense of Richard Chase, recently sentenced to two years hard labor for refusing to train for riot control, convinced the Pentagon that it is no longer safe to train troops for riot control at Ft. Hood, once the largest training center in the country.

Instead, GIs are now being shipped out of Hood to Vietnam at the rate of 1000 a month.

Black GIs know that once they get to Vietnam they could easily become just another statistic of racism: Blacks make up only 10 per cent of the military, but many of the high-risk battalions in Vietnam are as much as 50 to 70 per cent black. Twenty per cent of the combat tropps in Vietnam are black, and 18.3 per cent of the GIs killed in Vietnam are black.

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confrontations with police in marches against ROTC and AMRC.

Within a single week during the Christmas holidays, an unidentified group, now called the New Year's Gang, firebombed an armory housing ROTC offices, attempted to bomb ROTC classrooms, ransacked the local draft board, bombed a monkey lab suspected of doing nerve gas research, and attempted an aerial bombing of the nearby Baraboo munitions plant with a stolen ROTC plane. The latter attempt failed when the bombs failed to explode.

The bombers gave ample warning and took credit for the acts in messages which declared their support for the campus anti-imperialist demands.

During the second semester, demonstrations against General Electric recruiters, the Conspiracy 7 convictions and in support of the Spring Moratorium were all linked to the attack on AMRC and were accompanied by window-smashing and attempts to set fire to the building. By then, newly installed plexiglass windows bounced small boulders back at the attackers.

The student strike in response to the Cambodia invasion, endorsed by a broad spectrum of student groups, made one of its central demands the end to university complicity with the military, particularly the end to ROTC and AMRC. The scenario played out in over a week of street action involved thousands of rock-bearing students trying to get at these targets through a cordon of bayonet-wielding National Guardsmen and a haze of tear gas.

Several departments, including English, Zoology and Genetics, voted for an end to AMRC, and a number of biological sciences voluntarily cancelled their own defense contracts. At no point did the university respond to the demands with anything but brutal repression.

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interview with · Huey Newton

NEW HAVEN, Conn. (LNS) — *The following interview was conducted by John Bancroft and David Fenton of Liberation News Service on Aug. 21 in New Haven. Huey had just spent the day in court, he watched the close of the Lonnie McLucas trial, and met with Bobby Seale for the first time in three years. Charles Garry, Huey's lawyer, was also present.*

LNS: There's so many trials coming up this fall — the Panther 21 trial, the rest of the New Haven cases — and you're going to court for a setting of a trial date. I wonder how you think we should relate to so many trials at one time?

HUEY: It's going to become more and more difficult to relate to the court system and the trials at all. I think that right now we're at a turning point and that in the very near future we won't need to have that type of ed ucational thing – it will be on a higher level. And what level that is I think the people will decide. I think that the Marin courthouse event, a colossal event, was some indication of what might happen in the future.

LNS: On a recent radio broadcast, you spoke about the New World Liberation Front. Could you explain what this is all about?

HUEY: The New World Liberation Front will really be a new International. It will be a coalition of many groups within this country – many ethnic groups. The Black Panther Party will be a caucus within a broader front. The NWLF will represent all struggling people throughout the world. Actually, it's already been launched through the conference that was held in Korea.

LNS: The one that's going on right now?

HUEY: Yes, so we have high hopes that this will be a structure that will be able to construct a viable revolutionary movement.

LNS: This is actually going to be a formal kind of group, one that you think is going to encompass all different kinds of revolutionary people in the United States? Is it going to be a formal organization?

HUEY: Oh, yes. Right. It's already being structured. In a few more weeks – our embassy opens in Algiers in two weeks – I'm going to try and go for that. I don't know if they'll renew my passport. But there's no restrictions on me. There's no legal reason for them not renewing it. But right after that we can deal with putting the New World Liberation Front together. Because we will have a center for it.

LNS: What would you say has changed most from when you got into jail till when you got out?

HUEY: The consciousness of the people has really increased. People generally are much more aware. The younger kids – high school kids – I think they are nearly the most revolutionary class at this time. It's really impressive because I can see the difference between say, just 33 months ago and now. I probably can see it clearer than somebody's who's been out. Because when I was out, I knew what was happening, and then I was absent, and now, suddenly, I can see the big leap – which wasn't a leap, really; perhaps you saw the transformation as a very gradual thing – but it seemed to me like one giant leap forward, you know.

LNS: Do you think there's a revolutionary potential for youth culture, or do you think that it is a kind of sidetrack?

HUEY: Well, I think that the drug culture and the drop-out movement is in a transitional stage. I think that the youth will drop out and then they'll start dropping in again after they see they can't find any peace by separating. I think that the youth movement at this time is another manifestation of the separatist idea that many black nationalists preached just a few years ago. The youth drug culture is another manifestation of this – you know, like "we'll get out of the whole thing."

But we're starting to find out that we *can't* separate, because imperialism won't allow us to separate. Imperialism won't allow developing countries some ten or 15,000 miles away to live in peace, and they're already separated even on a geographical level. If imperialism won't let those countries be free 15,000 miles away, it surely won't let a group of people right here in North America separate.

We won't find any salvation until we're rid of the small ruling clique in this country. Then there won't be any need to separate at all anyway -- matter of fact the whole concept of nationalism will be settled.

Right now, the Black Panther Party supports all nationalist wars of independence, because we feel that these countries haven't exploited any one, and they are nationalistic on a self-defense basis. They have a right to independence. But we view them as no more than liberated territory or a base to operate from in order to destroy imperialism.

After imperialism is destroyed, then there won't be any need for nationalism so we won't support it. At this point we take a stand that we think that blacks within this country have a moral right to separate. The revolutionary nationalist idea is a moral thing. After so many years of abuse we have a right to do this. On the other hand I feel, the Party feels, that history has bestowed an obligation upon us. And that obligation is to transform the whole society, and as a matter of fact, the whole world.

Because if this society is moved, then the whole world will be transformed. While we have a moral right I don't think the political strategy is correct. Because if we don't serve as the vanguard in this transformation, then someone else will. So the Party accepts this role as the vanguard – not with any arrogance, but we feel that history has bestowed this task upon us. In many ways, it's a natural thing that Black Americans are the vanguard of the revolution. Because our history was destroyed, we were kidnapped from the Mother Country, brought here, and our national attitude was destroyed by slavery.

The people are looking for salvation not from the past really but always to the future. So we're progressive by necessity -- a very pragmatic people. You're less likely to have ethnocentrism when your history has been destroyed. So we end up being a very dynamic people. We end up being a people that's been dispersed all over the world, so therefore we're internationalist by our very heritage. Because we're not hung up in this national chauvinism, not really historically, because after the break, by slavery again, it's only natural that we'll be internationalist and it will be easier for us to give up those chauvinistic ideas of nationalism.

LNS: There were some people who were surprised that the Party made public statements saying that incidents like Marin [the shootout at the San Rafael Courthouse last month] are going to happen more often. Can you explain that?

HUEY: Well we feel safe in saying that. In the first place the party is a vanguard group with primary emphasis on radicalizing and educating the people through practice, through activity, through programs that are apparently reform, but in fact are not reform at all. We feel that any program which mobilized the community towards the revolutionary goal -- no matter what program that is -- is certainly not a reformist program. A program is only reformist when it makes slight changes and it also blocks the people from reaching the revolutionary goals, by setting up certain obstacles. That's why we have certain programs in the community that are apparently reform but in fact are not.

Now as far as Marin is concerned, and all action by the people -- the people have to perform these things. All we can do is set an example or educate the people either by illustrations or by lectures or by whatever way we can get through to the people. But the final task will be the people bearing the burden in changing things. So we can talk about all of those things with immunity, because we know that we can't do them anyway. We're probably the most focused upon Party in America at this time -- by the wrong people, by the FBI, CIA and so forth -- and so we can't indulge in those things. But the people will follow that example. And I think they will. I think that the Marin incident has a definite relationship to things happening in Latin America and so forth. So I think world revolution now is a reality and that the struggle is just intensifying.

LNS: What kind of reaction did you get to your letter to the Party about Gay Liberation and Women's Liberation?

HUEY: They were very happy that this should come from the Party, out of all people -- people seem to be very surprised.

LNS: Who was that?

HUEY: The women's liberation people. They were very happy that the party was attempting to relate to them. Within our party we're not completely rid of male chauvinism (laughter). I think that we're trying, we're making an honest effort. Women in our party can participate at any level in the party. We're constantly fighting those bourgeois attitudes of male chauvinism. We are advancing, we try to keep our ranks open -- there are women ministers in the party. All women are trained, just as the men, with the revolutionay tool. At every level I think that the women should be included.

LNS: How do you react to other black groups that object to women's liberation, saying the struggle that it interferes with the self-assertion of the black male?

HUEY: Well I think if we went along with that we'd be going along with the old values and we would be adhering to the old situation -- which we are trying to break away from. This would be *freedom* for people you see. I think it would be backwards to try to *build* male chauvinism at this point. It's not really true, but if the women in our ethnic group appear to have some objective superiority, being the head of families and so forth, it's a thing that we should also fight. I know that throughout our historical experience women have been the head of our families a lot, but at the same time because of that you get male chauvinism among blacks as a real problem. Because males come in with this attitude of "I have to show this woman that I am strong, and I won't follow that stereotype." So you really have a real problem of male chauvinism among us blacks, because of our history. We're working on that, and I think we'll solve it.

LNS: What exactly is going to be happening with the rest of your legal proceeding? When does the trial start, what do you expect to happen?

HUEY: I don't know. My lawyer is asleep, and I'm not even worried about it (laughter -- Charles Garry has been lying on the ground asleep this whole time).

CHARLES GARRY: Huey, why don't you tell them something about the difference between revolutionary suicide and reactionary

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History Of The Tupamaros - Part 2

By Stasia Madrigal
From the Guardian

The actual baptism of the Tupamaros dates back to July, 1963, when a group of radical Socialist party militants, led by Raul Sendic, entered the rifle club of the Swiss Colony, a quiet Uruguayan countryside resort, and seized a dozen automatic rifles. The incident was initially treated as an ordinary robbery.

The police identified Sendic as the author of the robbery and urged him to turn himself in. However, Sendic chose the underground and since 1963 his portrait has been in every police station of the country. (Sendic was arrested a few weeks ago.)

Who is Sendic and why did he choose illegality in a nation with a reputation for respecting "legality?"

A former law student, Sendic was a member of the Socialist party of Uruguay. For years the left-wing parties and trade unions had mainly emphasized political and organizational work in the urban areas, neglecting the people of the countryside. But Sendic began to organize among the proletarian sector of the countryside, the men who harvested rice in the east and the beet and sugarcane plantation workers of the north. Sendic completely integrated himself into the life of the workers, becoming a "peludo" (Uruguayan Spanish for the cane cutter), and founded Artigas Workers Union (UTAA).

Cane workers' march

Under Sendic's leadership, the UTAA forced the government to pass a series of social laws which would have bettered the lot of the rural workers had the government enforced them.

To make the miserable conditions on the Artigas plantations known to the rest of the country, Sendic organized the first cane workers' march in 1962. UTAA workers and their wives and children walked more than 360 miles from Artigas to Montevideo to demand their legal rights, adequate living and health conditions, laws protecting women and children, and regulations on the seasonal nature of plantation work that created serious unemployment among the sugar workers for the greater part of the year.

The presence of peludos in the capital made a political stir, but brought no concessions from the government. Violence broke out. Peludos were shot at from the windows of the Trade Union Confederation and one woman, an innocent bystander, was killed. As a result, the sugarcane workers became increasingly aware of the need for self-defense and observers consider this as one of the reasons for the expropriation of the Rifle Club's guns the following year.

Thus it can be said that the sugarcane workers movement is the genesis of the Tupamaros. Sendic, now believed to be the leader, or one of the leaders, of the Tupamaros, introduced new methods of revolutionary struggle in Uruguay. His personal participation in the ranks of the peludos and their march on the capital, whose demands went beyond mere wage increases, were new concepts that led to the birth of the national liberation movement. These beginnings had an important influence on the tactics of urban and rural armed struggle of the Tupamaros.

Their aim is to destroy the "bourgeois capitalist system." "We are struggling to pull down those on top and elevate those on the bottom," say the Tupamaros. "We don't believe that appeals to reason will persuade the persons who have autos and chalets in Punte del Este, along with several companies and plantations, to see that all this is an abuse and to hand over what they don't need for themselves to those who have worked all their lives and still have nothing."

How do they propose to do this?

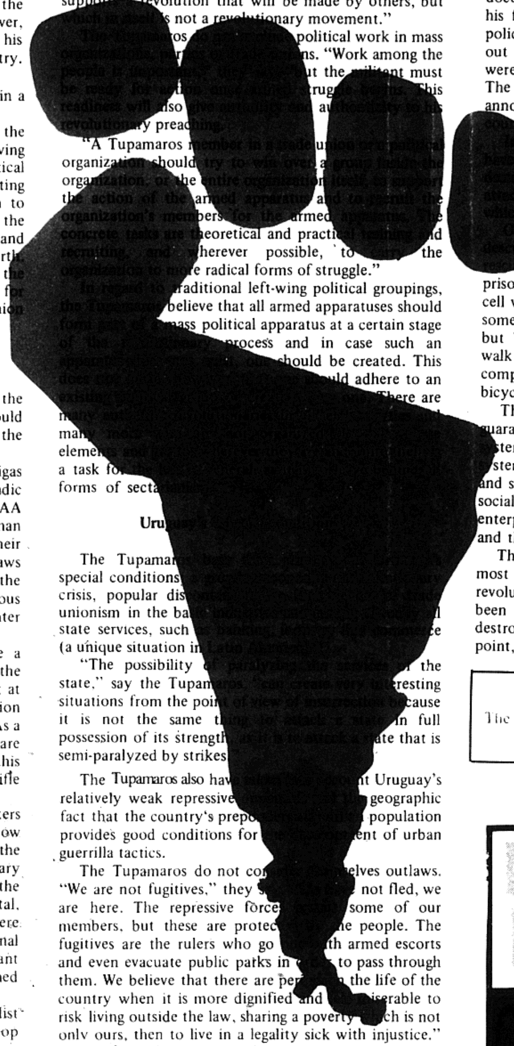
The Tupamaros say: "Our idea is to create an armed apparatus to wrest power from the repressive forces of the oligarchy, without losing time in establishing a mechanism for winning elections 50 years from now and then to beg the oligarchs and repressive forces to let us exercise this power. At first this tactic was criticized. It was said that we ignored and removed ourselves from the people. But the facts have proved our critics wrong.

"The principle of our revolutionary action is to arm ourselves, to prepare and train ourselves, to violate bourgeois legality and in this way to generate awareness, organization and revolutionary conditions.

"Once these conditions are created," the Tupamaros believe, "all revolutionary forces will be forced to support the revolution or to disappear. The choice will be easier for the people. They want a change and must choose between the improbable remote change offered them in political manifestos or parliamentary action, or they must take the direct road incarnated by the armed group and their revolutionary action. The armed struggle hurries and precipitates mass movement."

Prepare for armed struggle

The Tupamaros also believe that a revolutionary movement should prepare itself for armed struggle even when conditions for it do not exist in the country because, in their view: "An armed movement of the left can be attacked by the repressive forces at any point in its development and should therefore be ready to defend its own existence and because if from the beginning we do not inculcate in each militant the mentality of a combatant we will be creating a mere movement which supp[illegible]evolution that will be made by others, but [illegible]s not a [illegible]nary movement."



[illegible]os [illegible] political work in mass [illegible]ns. "Work among the [illegible]t the [illegible] must [illegible] This [illegible]y preaching.

"A Tupamaros [illegible] organiza[illegible] should [illegible] orga[illegible]e [illegible] th[illegible] [illegible]eoretical and practi[illegible]d [illegible] wherever possible, to [illegible] the [illegible]e radical forms of struggle."

In [illegible]raditional left-wing political groupings, the [illegible] believe that all armed apparatuses should [illegible]ass political apparatus at a certain stage of [illegible]process and in case such an [illegible]should be created. This [illegible]ould adhere to an [illegible]There are [illegible] ma[illegible] eleme[illegible] a task fo[illegible] forms of secta[illegible]

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The Tupama[illegible] special conditions[illegible] crisis, popular dis[illegible] unionism in the ba[illegible] state services, such [illegible]e (a unique situation i[illegible]

"The possibility [illegible] the state," say the Tupa[illegible]resting situations from the poi[illegible]cause it is not the same t[illegible]n full possession of its strength[illegible]te that is semi-paralyzed by strikes[illegible]

The Tupamaros also hav[illegible]t Uruguay's relatively weak repressive[illegible] geographic fact that the country's prepo[illegible] population provides good conditions for [illegible]ent of urban guerrilla tactics.

The Tupamaros do not co[illegible]elves outlaws. "We are not fugitives," they [illegible] not fled, we are here. The repressive force[illegible] some of our members, but these are protec[illegible]e people. The fugitives are the rulers who go [illegible]th armed escorts and even evacuate public parks in [illegible] to pass through them. We believe that there are pe[illegible] the life of the country when it is more dignified and [illegible]erable to risk living outside the law, sharing a poverty [illegible]ch is not only ours, then to live in a legality sick with injustice."

Clarifying their tactics, the Tupamaros have stated: "Our struggle is against the oligarchy and not against the police and the army. But we will defend ourselves against all those who at the decisive moment choose to be puppets of millionaires rather than defenders of the people. Up to now we have avoided frontal conflicts with the police, in spite of the fact that we possess grenades and other weapons, because they are not our true enemies. But this is very difficult to avoid in the struggle. We always try to attack our enemy, the oligarchy, and avoid clashes with their defenders in the armed forces."

However, it seems that in the course of the struggle "frontal conflicts with the police" became unavoidable. The above declaration on tactics, made more than a year ago, has undergone some change, as recent events demonstrate.

In June of this year, the Tupamaros issued a warning that stated: "We have decided to suspend all our attacks on the police for a period of two weeks, in order to give the members of the repressive forces time to reconsider and think about where their true patriotic duty lies."

The truce was broken July 4 when the Tupamaros had a shoot-out with police, killing one, wounding four and relieving several of their weapons, caps, and badges.

During that week, small groups of armed men expropriated automobiles in different parts of the city, driving their owners through the streets in their own cars. Later the owners were freed and told where they could pick up their autos. This seems to have been a dress rehearsal for a new assault on the police that took place on July 11.

"Brink of war"

On the evening of that day, the Tupamaros expropriated at least eight automobiles. While some Tupamaros made away with the cars, others stayed with the owners. Those in the vehicles assaulted the homes of five police officials, seizing their arms, ammunition and documents. The Tupamaros told each policeman and his family that "we are against the regime and not the police. Assaults like this one are what the police carry out againse us and other workers." The police officers were told to resign from the force "for your own good." The following day, the Minister of the Interior announced that the Tupamaros were pushing the [illegible]ry "to the brink of war."

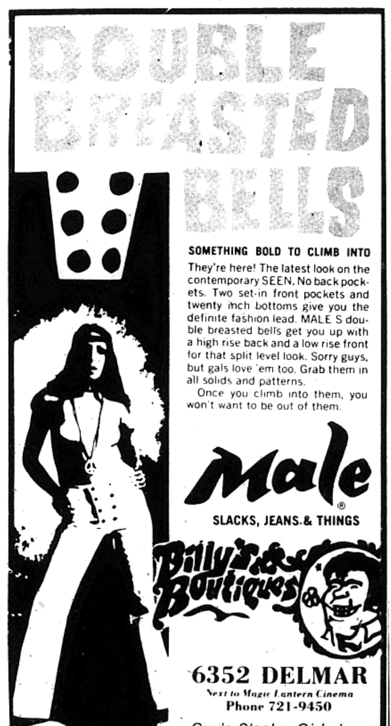
[illegible] new document, the Tupamaros declared: "We [illegible]ived at the firm conclusion that we cannot [illegible] this liberty-killing regime without systematically [illegible] its defenders: the police and the armed forces [illegible]stain and carry out government policy."

[illegible]uly 13, the Tupamaros distributed a bulletin [illegible]ng how two members of that organization were [illegible]ed from prison in the city of Salto. The two prisoners had broken through the wall of their prison cell which was in front of a bus stop. Waiting for a bus, some 30 people saw the first piece of wall crumble away, but Tupamaros among the crowd urged the people to walk away calmly, explaining that two of their companions were escaping. The prisoners got away on bicycles which were waiting for them by the bus stop.

The Tupamaros envision "a social order which [illegible]uarantees that we will never return to the present [illegible]stem of inequality. As long as there is a capitalist [illegible]stem there will be capitalists who will hoard wealth and speculate with labor. For this reason we propose to socialize the large industrial, commercial and agricultural enterprises. We want absolute equality between leaders and the people in terms of sacrifice and remuneration."

The Tupamaros insist that "we have gone through the most difficult period of a movement when most revolutionary groups are liquidated. Some of us have been killed or imprisoned, but we have not been destroyed. We are now solid and well-rooted. At this point, our movement is indestructible."

The cover for this issue was done by Don Breidenbach.



More Panther Repression

New York 21

NEW YORK (LNS) – The New York Panther 21 trial has just resumed. The pretrial hearings on this case began in February. Jury selection and the duration of the trial itself will take us into 1971 or 1972.

Thirteen New York Panthers are being held on charges of conspiracy to bomb the Bronx Botanical Gardens, police and railroad stations, and several department stores. Although held on approximately 1.9 million dollars ransom, five of the 13 indicted have been able to make bail.

The Constitution doesn't allow for political trials, so the state creates criminal charges in order to prosecute political people. A few hours spent in the Panther 21 court room challenges most of the deeply ingrained assumptions one might have about the legal system.

"Don't you have an objection to that?" Judge Murtagh asks the prosecution about almost any point the defense might make.

Jamal, one of the Panther 21.

The wire tapping affidavits are based on evvidence from an informer who has already been cited as criminally insane and who had spent most of his life in 15 different mental institutions.

During the decisions of pretrial hearing sessions, the Judge spent much time criticizing the defense lawyers for their "attitude" or the "looks they gave one another" or their "tone of voice." At one moment he accused the defense lawyers of "inciting" misbehavior among the defendants; in the next moment he gave the prosecution permission to show the "terrorist" film "The Battle of Algiers" to be used as evidence against the Panther Party.

If this trial is too far away, there will be a local trial. If this trial is over, there will be other trials. We can be sure of that. We have to give dependable and visable support for our brothers and sisters who have to fight the judicial system. As long as the state knows that its every move is being watched and judged it will be careful. If the government knows that the mass base of support is not out there it will quietly accomplish its own end – the destruction of the Panther Party and any other revolutionary force that opposes the state.

If you want more information on the Panther 21, write the Committee to Defend the Panthers, 11 East 16th St. in New York City. Or call (212) 243-2261. If you are near or in New York, stop in on the trial for an educational couple of hours.

Milwaukee 3

MILWAUKEE, Wis. (LNS) – On Sept. 22, 1969, three young black men – Milwaukee Black Panthers – were busted, beaten and jailed on false charges of resisting arrest and attempted murder of a white cop.

Sept. 21, 1970, the Milwaukee 3 – Booker Collins, Jesse White and Earl Leverette – came to trial on the attempted murder charges, after doing a year in the slam for "resisting." "Resisting arrest" was the excuse the cops gave for beating the three up six separate times before their arraignment. The attempted murder charges are far worse. The pigs have no physical evidence, yet the three, who are to be tried by a reactionary Milwaukee judge, could easily get the 30 year maximum.

During the first week of the trial, while a jury is being loaded, young people from all over the country will stream into Milwaukee for a mammoth political/cultural response, LIBERATION III, the weekend of Sept. 26-28.

Co-incidentally, it seems that Spiro Agnew will be coming to Milwaukee Friday the 25th.

We will liberate Milwaukee for at least three days. Three days of high energy raps, workshops, guerrilla theater and nightly rockbands, culminating in a march and rally outside the courthouse addressed by Chicago Panther Bobby Rush and Tom Hayden of the Conspiracy 7.

LIBERATION III will happen mainly in the parks on the shores of Lake Michigan – a gathering of community people, students, stone grease, and black brothers and sisters, of a hundred different revolutionary styles. The entire free community of Milwaukee is organizing to provide housing and legal aid, to make food available at a minimum cost.

We're getting together around three points: FREE THE THREE. FREE ALL POLITICAL PRISONERS. STOP PIG REPRESSION IN ALL COMMUNITIES.

During LIBERATION III we will cry out against the repression we all face in our own communities. But the focus of the three days will be the trial of the three black brothers, and the insane attempt to railroad them behind bars for 30 years on the self-contradictory testimony of one rookie cop.

The case of Huey P. Newton shows that we can free the three – or at least put so much heat on the Milwaukee power structure with publicity that the judge will be forced to lighten their sentences. To support the three without jeopardizing their trial, we are calling for a mass, militant, legal event. We are negotiating for permits, and the outcome looks good.

The time has come to see that the freedom struggles of young people, black people, women, and all others are the same, because the pig is everywhere the same. Booker, Earl and Jesse are political prisoners; any one of us who tries to serve her or his community and stop the pig could be next. Milwaukee's black community needs the three back on the streets and so do we. The Black Panther Party is working to free us all.

Sept. 26-28 will be a chance to get together, to take down some barriers that have separated our struggles.

For further information write or call Milwaukee Liberation Front, P.O. Box 5457, Milwaukee, Wis. 53211, phone (414) 271-1250; or 2118 W. Wells St., Milwaukee, Wis., phone (414) 933-2203.

lonnie mclucas found guilty

By John Bancroft
Liberation News Service

"When I am set free, I will continue to serve the people. I will do so...until the day I die."

– Lonnie McLucas

NEW HAVEN, – Waiting inside the New Haven courthouse for the verdict which would decide the fate of Lonnie McLucas was like being trapped in a mausoleum for six days. Marble columns became backrests, marble steps became beds, and marble slabs became prison walls. It was impossible to tell what time it was or to distinguish the days.

Lonnie faced 120 years in jail, or the death penalty, if convicted of all four charges: kidnapping, conspiracy to kidnap, binding with criminal intent, and conspiracy to murder.

The jury took six seemingly endless days of deliberation to come to a verdict.

As Lonnie's supporters kept a vigil going inside and outside New Haven Superior Court, the jury came in no fewer than four times to hear the judge's instructions read again. The judge had defined conspiracy so broadly and so vaguely that it would be hard to find anyone innocent of that charge. He told the jury that circumstantial evidence was quite all right, that Lonnie's pre-trial statements "were inconsistent with his plea of innocence," and that Lonnie's claim of acting under the duress of (police agent) George Sams should not be taken seriously.

To top it all off, the judge summarized the prosecution case in detail, but refused to do the same for the defense. Even establishment reporters agreed afterwards that the charge gave the jury little choice but to convict Lonnie on all four counts.

Earlier, several Panthers, including Lonnie himself, had taken the stand to try to explain what had really

Lonnie McLucas

happened in the Rackley affair. Lonnie sat in the witness box for eleven grueling hours, literally surrounded by the prosecutor, the judge, the clerk, an armed guard, and several jurors, all of them white. He was in a tough position because of earlier statements the police had forced out of him, and the judge refused to let him consult his lawyer at any time on the stand.

Despite this, Lonnie spoke eloquently about his life, his party work, and his participation in the Rackley affair. He stated that during George Sams' torture-interrogation of Rackley, "I was shocked. I turned away. I couldn't stand to watch." When asked why he had not left or tried to stop Sams, Lonnie said, "Sams had a .45 and I was afraid if I asked too many questions or objected I would endanger the lives of others and myself." Finally, Lonnie stated that after Warren Kimbro had shot Rackley on Sams' orders, Lonnie fired a shot into his dead body, because "if I hadn't, I would be in the same position as Rackley."

(One vital fact about this trial must be remembered. Lonnie is not being tried for murder at this point. He is being tried for kidnapping, conspiracy, and binding. In fact, there was absolutely no evidence that Rackley was kidnapped [he went voluntarily], or that Lonnie conspired with anyone [he thought Rackley was not an informer and would be let go], or that he bound Rackley with criminal intent. It is a dismal fact that no matter what happens in this trial, Lonnie faces a first degree murder trial in another Connecticut county for firing – under force by Sams – a bullet into a dead man.)

During the lunch recess, Huey and Big Man, editor of the Panther weekly, held a press conference at which the Panthers, for the first time, put forth a detailed Party position on the Rackley murder. Big Man stated to a room packed with reporters, TV cameras, and people trying to get a glimpse of Huey, that "Sams, and Sams

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unique advantages for the airlines. The carriers get a stable guaranteed contract with a consumer who always pays on time, and no expensive terminal facilities, downtown ticket offices, or vast advertising campaigns are necessary. Pan Am pays no landing fees when it works for the military; its planes fly at 100 per cent capacity, while civil international flights average about 50 per cent.

Indeed, one purpose of this program has been to provide profits to subsidize the expansion and development of America's civil international airlines. Pan Am was intended to be the primary beneficiary of these arrangements. In 1961, out of the total cargo fleet, Pan Am had committed 71 per cent and was thereby entitled to receive 71 per cent of all military charter contracts.

However, as the Vietnam war escalated, Pan Am's competitors also profitted. Eager for the rewards of the Pacific bonanza, Continental, Braniff, and TWA were accumulating experience in trans-Pacific flying, building facilities, and becoming familiar with the Pacific market – all at military expense on cost-plus contracts.

The competition for new routes was so fierce that Pan Am's old central and south Pacific monopoly would inevitably be broken; unless Pan Am could get some of the new routes it wanted, it would hold much the same position it held in the Atlantic, the leading airline in a glutted low-profit market.

Pan Am adopted a simple strategy; if others could get into the charter business through the White House, Pan Am could get into it through the military. The crucial question was what the military needed that Pan Am and no one else could give? The answer was R&R (rest and recreation). Business Week reported it this way:

"While in Vietnam several years ago, Halaby, (Pan Am's senior vice-president) found that troop morale was low because of a lack of adequate recreational facilities. He proposed that Pan Am use the piston planes it was phasing out of the Berlin air corridor to ferry men from Saigon to Hong Kong."

"Pan Am's contribution to the Vietnamese War effort undoubtedly will be weighed in parcelling out new and expanded routes in the Pacific."

Pan Am's R & R program has helped the generals to prolong the war by making the year long tour of duty a more bearable experience for the American G.I. It has saved old aircraft from the scrap heap and put them to work in the national interest. And in the interest of Pan Am, in the first few months of R & R service there was a perceptible turnabout in Pan Am's Pacific charters. Within a year, Pan Am's service was up a measurable 357 per cent and once again it was the largest charter operator in the Pacific.

In order for Pan Am to maintain its strength, America must continue its focus on Asia. American resources must pour into the area, and government officials and soldiers must fly in ever-increasing numbers. Pan Am needs the spectre of Communism and the looming image of a threatening China to draw American interest and government travelers.

In Vietnam and the Pacific, Pan Am's eagerness to improve the tactics of military intervention for the sake of filling its over-expanded jet fleet, and its close cooperation with the military effort in Vietnam to insure its Pacific expansion are actions which raise serious questions about America's ability to base its military withdrawal on purely political criteria.

The problem with subcontracting the war to private corporations is that their profit structures become dependent upon the continuance of the conflict and they resist any sudden change in policy which prudent political judgment may require. There is a grave danger that Pan Am's dependence on its Pacific expansion, is making it a major barrier to speedy withdrawal from Vietnam and an advocate of future interventions in the name of "freedom".

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alone gave the orders to shoot Rackley. Sams terrorized almost everyone in the New Haven Chapter....The Black Panther Party has to stand in the judgment of the people because in that period of our party's development, we allowed a maniac such as George Sams to come into our party."

Huey, fresh from his meeting with Bobby and a morning in court, backed up Big Man's statement. "Our party stands criticized for the actions of George Sams. We were negligent and should have discovered earlier that he was an agent. But Lonnie McLucas is innocent. The Party stands for justice, and if justice is not done, the party will take appropriate measures. We're sure that Lonnie will be set free, that Bobby will be set free, and that all political prisoners will be set free."

As Lonnie was led out of the courtroom, looking strong and confident (as he was moved every time the jury went out for deliberation again), he raised his fist. He was answered with a loud "Power to the people!" from the whole spectator section.

The jury came back on Monday, Aug. 31, with their verdict. It was clear that the black machine operator and the woman bartender, who had appeared to be on Lonnie's side, were troubled. The court went through all the pomp of a verdict – roll call, "What do you say, Mr. Foreman?" and so on.

Then it began. "Kidnapping resulting in death" (a capital offense) – Not Guilty.

Lonnie, standing and facing the jury, grabbed the hand of his lawyer and waited for the next charge.

Conspiracy to kidnap (possible 30-year sentence) – Not Guilty.

Then it came: "Conspiracy to murder, what is your verdict?" "Guilty, your honor."

Gasps from the spectators. A jolt running through Lonnie's body, and agonized waiting for the final charge – binding, which carries a 50-year penalty.

"Not guilty, your honor."

Then, while everyone was trying to understand what had happened, the judge was thanking the jury and setting Sept. 18 for Lonnie's sentencing (maximum penalty, 15 years in jail). [Last week Lonnie received a sentence of 12 to fifteen years.]

←15

January 1 – it's going to be called revolutionary suicide. It's going to be a combination of autobiography and Panther ideology. Those two concepts will be handled in the book – revolutionary suicide versus reactionary suicide. And I'm going to contend in the book that at this point in history that the people in general and blacks in particular have little alternative. We can choose between revolutionary suicide and reactionary suicide.

What I mean by reactionary suicide is suicide that's caused by a reactionary set of conditions. When a corrupt regime strips a man of all dignity and crushes his spirit he kills himself. This is reactionary suicide. If he does nothing he gets killed by that reactionary set of conditions. It's a spiritual kind of death. This is suicide in as much as he's doing nothing to stop it. And I'm contending that he has an obligation to preserve himself, so its suicide if he doesn't.

On the other hand I think we all have to realize that the enemy that we're fighting is very strong, very powerful, and our individual chances of surviving are very slim. So when we take action, when we take our destiny in our hands and try to change those reactionary conditions by going in a head-on conflict with those forces, then this is edging on suicide. I call it revolutionary suicide because there's a small chance that we'll acutally succeed, I mean individually succeed. *We know that the people will eventually win.* But as far as each of us we have no guarantee that we will succeed. And matter of fact I believe that our chances are so slight that we can call this revolutionary suicide. Because it's a freedom of choice, and that we're taking action to *live*, really, and to change those conditions that are about to kill us.

←11

sections of the populace – then there is absolutely nothing to worry about. If they can't do this, then they properly should worry, and do you know something? They ARE worried, and with good reason.

In the "prosperous" U.S., some two per cent of the people control some 98 per cent of the wealth. Such is the "free" world. The big wheels naturally want freedom. Freedom to ride rough shod over the working class. "Freedom" to exploit the workers in Latin America, Africa, and Asia.

STUDENTS

Earn some spending money this fall and help the movement at the same time. Sell the Outlaw at your school. You keep ten cents for each paper you sell, and you provide invaluable assistance to us in our effort to reach as many young people in the greater St. Louis area as possible. Call 862-9327 today and work out the details for the coming semester.

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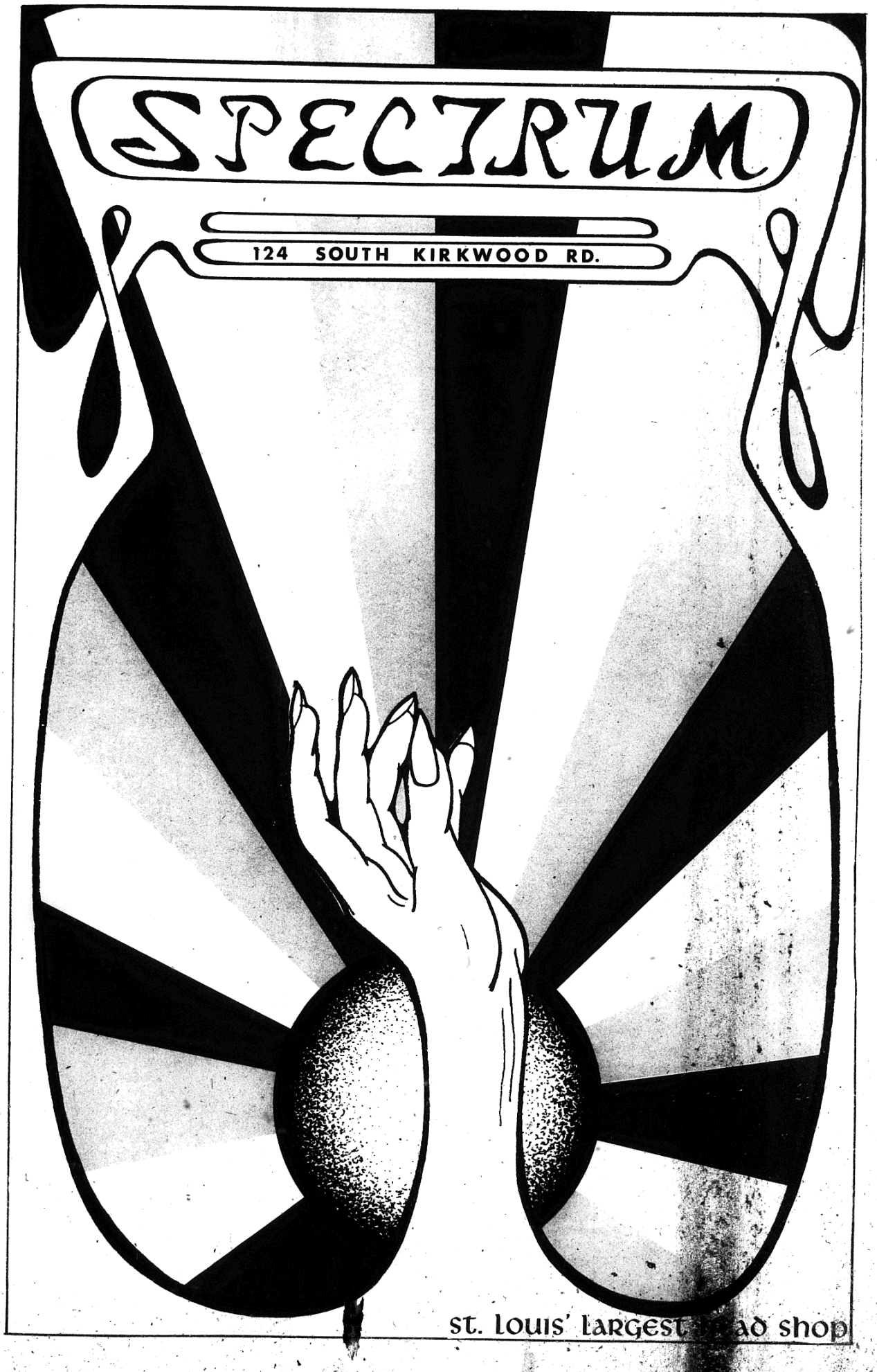
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OUTLAW 20

What's Happening In St. Louis

This is a list of things to do and places to go in St. Louis. Listing here does not mean endorsement by the Outlaw. If your group is scheduling an event between October 13 and November 3 which you would like listed in the Outlaw, send the appropriate information to us at 4285 Olive, St. Louis, Mo. 63108.

Films

Le Dejeuner sur l'herbe at City Art Museum 3:30 and 8, September 22.

Protest and Communication at City Art Museum, 2:30 and 6, September 25.

The Gladiators at Graham Chapel, Washington U., 7:30 and 9:30, September 23.

The Great Thaw at Steinberg Hall, Washington U., 8pm., September 23.

Cool Hand Luke at Wohl Cafeteria, Washington U., 7:30 and 10, September 25 and 26.

The Wrong Box at Brown Auditorium, Washington U., 8:15 on September 25 and 2:30 on September 27.

Stagecoach at Wohl Center, Washington U. 8 p.m., September 23.

Grandeur and Obedience at City Art Museum, 2:30 and 6 on September 29.

Le Caporal Epingle at City Art Museum 3:30 and 8, on September 29.

1000 Clowns at Wohl Cafeteria, Washington U., October 2 and 3.

The 400 Blows at Graham Chapel at Washmeton U. at 8pm in Graham Chapel on October 8.

Stolen Kisses at Wohl Cafeteria, Washington U., October 9.

Jules and Jim at Graham Chapel at Washington U. at 8pm October 12.

My Darling Clementine at Wohl Cafeteria, Washington U. at 10 pm on October 12.

Museums

City Art Museum - Forest Park. (721-0067)

Dymanim Museum - 460 N. 9th St., East St. Louis.

Eugene Field Children's Museum - 634 S. Broadway. (421-4689)

Falstaff Museum - 1923 Shenandoah. (773-4456)

Gay 90's Melody Museum - 320 S. Broadway. (231-9020)

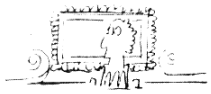
Jefferson Barracks Museum - 10000 S. Broadway.

Missouri Historical Society - Lindell & DeBaliviere. (726-2622)

National Museum of Transport - 3015 Barrett Station Road., Kirkwood.

St. Louis Medical Museum - 3839 Lindell. (371-5225)

Sports Hall of Fame - Busch Stadium. (421-6790)



Exhibits

American Institute of Architects - Wainwright Building, 7th and Chestnut.

Arts and Education Council - 607 N. Grand

Bethesda General Hospital - 3655 Vista Ave.

Block Gallery - 8 Maryland Plaza

Children's Art Bazaar - 405 North 9th Street.

Craft Alliance Gallery - 6640 Delmar

Forsyth Gallery - 8236 Forsyth Blvd.

John Burroughs School Gallery - 755 S. Price Road

Maryville College - 13550 Conway Road

Missouri Baptist Hospital - 3015 N. Ballas Road

Northside Art association - River Roads Mall, Halls Ferry and Jennings Road

Norton's Gallery - 325 N. Euclid

St. Louis Public Library - 1301 Olive Street.

Buildings Worth Seeing

Christ Church Cathedral
1210 Locust.

Bissell House
10225 Bellefontaine Road

Campbell House
1508 Locust

Chatillon DeMenil
3352 DeMenil

Lake Schoolhouse
Coeur de Ville Drive, Creve Coeur

Sappington House
1015 S. Sappington

Taille de Noyer
1896 S. Florissant Road

Tower Grove House
2315 Tower Grove

Wainwright Building
7th and Chestnut

Old Courthouse
Riverfront

Old Cathedral
Riverfront

Lectures

Saul Alinsky at Graham Chapel, Washington U. at 11 AM on October 7.

Mrs. Benjamin Ginsberg speaking on "English needlework: Paragon to the Colonies" at the City Art Museum at 10:30 am on September 24.

Dr. Eugene Schoenfeld (Dr. Hip-Pocrates) at Graham Chapel, Washington U. at 8pm October 5.

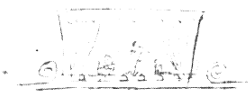
Charles E. Buckley at City Art Museum, September 22 and 29, "What's new in the collections?"

Music

St. Louis Symphony, Walter Susskind, Conductor at Powell Hall, 718 N. Grand.(533-2500). Leslie Parnas,cellist, September 24 and 26. Eileen Farrell, October 3.

Organ Recitals; Dr. Franklin E. Perkins, Ladue Chapel, 9450 Clayton Road at 8 pm, September 27. Dr. Lorgan Simmons, Second Presbyterian Church 4501 Westminster at 4pm, September 27. Henry Glass, Jr., at Emanuel Episcoplal Church, Lockwood & Big Bend at 8:15 pm on September 28.

The American Folklife Company, Mike Seeger, leader. With Georgia Sea Island Singers and Blue Ridge Mountain Cloggers. At Graham Chapel, Washington U. at 8:30 pm on October 3.



Theatre

The Hasty Heart at Theater Guild of Webster Groves-517 Theater Lane on September 25. (961-8718)

Waiting for Godot presented by Alpha-Omega Players of Dallas Texas at Christ Church Cathedral 1210 Locust at 8 pm on September 27.

Plays For Bleeker Street by Wilder, at Fontbonne College at 8pm on September 28 and 29.

Other Places

Goldenrod Showboat - Riverfront (621-3311)

Planitarium - Forest Park (535-5810)

St. Louis Zoo - Forest Park (781-0900)

Jewel Box - Forest Park, (371-9288)

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Experimental Campus Ministry 726-1565

KDNA 652-6771

Peace Center 862-5735, 725-3209

RAP 531-4449

Street Revival 862-7939

Legal Aid Society 652-9581

Switchboard (KDNA) 652-6161

Temperature and Time 321-2522

McPherson Community House 652-9143

Underground Woman 231-9320

W.U. Draft Help 863-0100 ext. 4682

W.U. Liberation Front 863-0100 ext. 4806

W.U. Women's Liberation 863-0100 ext. 4682

Welfare Coalition 862-6637